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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

II

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF
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IN NINE VOLUMES

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Τοὺς δ' ὑπάτους ἐς τὴν Λιβύην στρατεύσασθαι ἐψηφίσαντο τόν τε Γάιον τὸν Ἀτίλιον τὸν τοῦ Ῥηγούλου ἀδελφὸν καὶ τὸν Μάλλιον τὸν Λούκιον. οἳ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐλθόντες τῷ Λιλυβαίῳ προσέβαλον, καί τι μέρος τῆς τάφρου συγχῶσαι εἰς τὴν τῶν μηχανημάτων προσαγωγὴν ἐπεχείρησαν. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ὑπορύσσοντες τὸν χοῦν ὑφεῖλκον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἠλαττοῦντο τῇ πολυχειρίᾳ, τεῖχος ἕτερον ἔνδον μηνοειδὲς ᾠκοδόμησαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπονόμους ὑπὸ τὸν κύκλον εἰργάζοντο, ὅπως κατὰ τὸ διάκενον αὐτῶν ἱζήσαντος τοῦ τείχους εἰσπέσωσιν· οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ἀντορύσσοντες πολλοὺς μὲν ἀγνοοῦντας τὸ γινόμενον ἐκδεχόμενοι ἔκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ πῦρ ἐν φρυγάνοις εἰς τὰ ὀρύγματα ἐμβάλλοντες ἔφθειρον. ἐπεὶ δέ τινες τῶν συμμάχων, τῇ τε παρατάσει τῆς πολιορκίας ἀχθόμενοι καὶ τῷ μὴ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῖς ἐντελῆ καταβάλλεσθαι, προδοῦναι τὸ χωρίον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διεκηρυκεύοντο, ἐφώρασεν ὁ Ἀμίλκας τὸ βουλευόμενον, οὐκ ἐξέφηνε δέ, ἵνα μὴ πολεμώσῃ αὐτούς· χρήματα δὲ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν παρασχὼν καὶ τῷ πλήθει προσυποσχόμενος ἕτερα, οὕτως αὐτοὺς ᾠκειώσατο ὥστε μηδ' ἀρνήσασθαι τὴν προδοσίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τελευταίους πρέσβεις ἐπανιόντας ἀπώσασθαι. οἳ πρὸς

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THEY voted that the consuls, Gaius Atilius, brother of Regulus, and Lucius Manlius, should make an expedition into Africa. These, on coming to Sicily, attacked Lilybaeum and undertook to fill up a portion of the moat to help in bringing up the engines. The Carthaginians tried to dig beneath the mound and undermine it; but when they found this to be a losing game, because of the numbers of the opposing workmen, they built another wall, crescent-shaped, inside. The Romans ran tunnels under this circular wall, in order that when it settled into the mine they might rush inside. The Carthaginians then built counter-tunnels and came upon many workers who were unaware of what the other side was doing; these they killed, and they also destroyed many by hurling blazing fire-wood into the excavations. Some of the allies now, burdened by the protraction of the siege and displeased because their wages were not paid them in full, made propositions to the Romans to betray the place. Hamilcar discovered their plan, but did not disclose it, for fear of driving them into open hostility; instead, he supplied their officials with money, and also promised some to the multitude. In this way he won their favour to such an extent that they did not even deny their treachery, but drove away the last envoys when they returned. B.C. 250

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τοὺς ὑπάτους αὐτομολήσαντες γῆν τε ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ ἕτερ' ἄττα ἔλαβον.

Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ οἴκοι Καρχηδόνιοι πέμπουσιν Ἀρδέβαν σὺν ναυσὶ πλείσταις εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον σῖτον ἀγούσαις καὶ χρήματα. καὶ ὃς χειμῶνα ἐπιτηρήσας εἰσέπλευσε. κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ καταίρειν ὁμοίως ἐτόλμων· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπετύγχανον, οἱ δὲ ἀπώλλυντο.

Ἕως μὲν οὖν ἄμφω παρῆσαν οἱ ὕπατοι, ἰσοπαλεῖς οἱ ἀγῶνες ἐγίνοντο· νόσου δὲ καὶ λιμοῦ τρυχόντων αὐτούς, καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου οἴκαδε διὰ ταῦτα σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν στρατιώταις ἀναχωρήσαντος, Ἀμίλκας θαρρήσας ἐπεξῄει καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐνεπίμπρα καὶ τοὺς ἐπαμύνοντας αὐταῖς ἔφθειρε, καὶ ἡ ἵππος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Δρεπάνου ὁρμωμένη τά τε ἐπιτήδεια κομίζεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκώλυε καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν συμμαχίδα κατέτρεχε, καὶ ὁ Ἀρδέβας ποτὲ μὲν τῆς Σικελίας, ποτὲ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰ παράλια ἔκειρεν· ὅθεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν ἀπορίᾳ κατέστησαν. τέως μέντοι Λούκιος Ἰούνιος ἡτοίμαζε ναυτικόν, Κλαύδιος δὲ Ποῦλχρος εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον ἐπειχθεὶς καὶ τριήρεις πληρώσας συνέλαβε δι' αὐτῶν Ἄννωνα τὸν Καρχηδόνιον ἐκπλέοντα πεντήρει· καὶ παράδειγμα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τῆς κατασκευῆς τῶν νηῶν ἐγένετο.

Πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ κινδυνεύοντος ἐβαρύ-

Ioan. Tzetzes, Exeg. in Hom. Il., p. 108.

Τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τῆς οἰωνοσκοπικῆς Δίων Κάσ-

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The latter then deserted to the consuls, and received from them land in Sicily and other gifts.

The Carthaginians at home, hearing of this, sent Adherbal with a very large number of ships carrying grain and money to Lilybaeum. And he, after waiting for a storm, sailed in. Thereupon many others likewise attempted a landing, and some succeeded, while others were destroyed.

As long as both consuls were present the conflicts were evenly matched. Pestilence and famine, however, came to harass them, and these caused one of them to return home with the soldiers of his division. Hamilcar then took courage and made sorties, in which he would set fire to the engines and slay the men defending them; and his cavalry, setting out from Drepanum, prevented the Romans from getting provisions and overran the territory of their allies. Adherbal also ravaged the shores now of Sicily, now of Italy, so that the Romans did not know what to do. In the meantime, however, Lucius Junius was B.C. 249 preparing a fleet, and Claudius Pulcher hastened to Lilybaeum, where he manned triremes and with them captured Hanno, the Carthaginian, as he was leaving the harbour on a five-banked ship. The prize craft served the Romans as a model in shipbuilding.[1]

The fleet was so frequently endangered that the

Ioan. Tzetzes, Exeg. in Hom. Il., p. 108.

The second method of augury is transmitted to us

[1] Polybius places this event at the beginning of the war, where it seems most appropriate. It is hard to say whether the confusion here is due to Zonaras, to Dio, or to the latter's source.

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νοντο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ συνεχεῖ τῶν νεῶν φθορᾷ· ἄνδρας γὰρ συχνοὺς καὶ χρήματα πλεῖστα ἐν ταύταις ἀπώλλυσαν· οὐ μέντοι γε καὶ ἐνέδοσαν, ἀλλὰ καί τινα φθεγξάμενον περὶ καταλλαγῶν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διεχρήσαντο, καὶ λεχθῆναι δικτάτορα ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ δικτάτωρ μὲν ὁ Κολλατῖνος ἐλέχθη, ἱππάρχησε δέ γε ὁ Μέτελλος· οὐδὲν δὲ μνήμης ἔπραξαν ἄξιον. ἐν ᾧ δ' ὁ Κολλατῖνος δικτάτωρ ἐλέγετο, ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἔρυκα παρεστήσατο ὁ Ἰούνιος, καὶ ὁ Καρθάλων κατέσχεν Αἰγίθαλον καὶ ἐζώγρησε τὸν Ἰούνιον.

16. Τῷ δ' ἑξῆς ἔτει Αὐρήλιος Γάιος καὶ Σερουίλιος Πούπλιος τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβόντες τό τε Λιλύβαιον καὶ τὸ Δρέπανον ἐλύπουν καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τῆς γῆς ἀπεῖργον καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν συμμαχίδα κατέκειρον. ὁ οὖν Καρθάλων πολυτρόπως ἐπιχειρήσας κατ' αὐτῶν, ὡς οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν, εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὥρμησεν, ἵν' οὕτω τοὺς ὑπάτους μεταγάγῃ ἐκεῖ ἢ τέως τὴν χώραν κακώσῃ καὶ πόλεις αἱρήσῃ. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐνταῦθά τι αὐτῷ προεχώρησε· τὸν γὰρ στρατηγὸν τὸν ἀστυνόμον μαθὼν πλησιάζοντα, εἰς Σικελίαν ἀνέπλευσεν. ἔνθα τῶν

Ioan. Tzetzes, Exeg. in Hom. Il., p. 108.

σιος Κοκκηιανὸς παραδίδωσι, λέγων ὅτι κριθοφάγους ἡμέρους κατέχουσιν ὄρνιθας καὶ τιθέασιν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν κριθάς, ὅτε μαντεύονται. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐσθίοντες οἱ ὄρνιθες οὐ πλήττουσι τοῖς ῥάμφεσι τὰς κριθὰς καὶ ἀπορρίπτουσιν, ἀγαθὸν τὸ σημεῖον, εἰ δὲ οὕτω ποιοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀγαθόν.

Zonaras 8, 15–16.

Romans were disheartened by the constant destruction of their ships; for in these they lost a good many men and vast sums of money. Yet they would not give up; nay, they even slew a man who uttered a word in the senate about reconciliation with the Carthaginians, and they voted that a dictator should be named. Collatinus [Calatinus] was therefore named dictator, and Metellus became master of the horse; but they accomplished nothing worthy of remembrance. While Collatinus was being chosen dictator, Junius had won over Eryx, and Carthalo had occupied Aegithallus and taken Junius alive.

16. The next year Gaius Aurelius and Publius Servilius took office and spent their time in harrying B.C. 248 Lilybaeum and Drepanum, in keeping the Carthaginians off the land, and in devastating the territory of their allies. Carthalo undertook many different kinds of enterprises against them, but, as he accomplished nothing, he set out for Italy, with the object of drawing the consuls back there after him, or of injuring the country meanwhile and capturing cities. Yet he made no headway even there, and on learning that the praetor urbanus was approaching, sailed back to Sicily. His mercenaries now rebelled

Ioan. Tzetzes, Exeg. in Hom. Il., p. 108.

by Dio Cassius Cocceianus,[1] who says that they keep tame birds which eat barley, and put barley grains in front of them when they seek an omen. If, then, in the course of eating the birds do not strike the barley with their beaks and toss it aside, the sign is good; but if they do so strike the grain, it is not good.

[1] Dio may be supposed to have described this method of augury in connection with his account of the disaster of Publius Claudius Pulcher, omitted by Zonaras.

Zonaras 8, 16.

μισθοφόρων στασιασάντων διὰ τὸν μισθόν, συχνοὺς μὲν ἐς νήσους ἐρήμους ἐκβιβάσας κατέλιπε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἀπέστειλεν. ὃ γνόντες οἱ λοιποὶ ἠγανάκτησαν καὶ νεωτερίσειν ἔμελλον. ὧν Ἀμίλκας, διαδεξάμενος τὸν Καρθάλωνα, πολλοὺς μὲν νυκτὸς κατέκοψε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ κατεπόντωσεν. ἐν τοσούτῳ δ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι φιλίαν αἴδιον πρὸς Ἱέρωνα διεπράξαντο, καὶ προσαφῆκαν ὅσα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπετείως ἐλάμβανον.

Τῷ δ' ἑξῆς ἔτει τοῦ θαλαττίου πολέμου δημοσίᾳ μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπέχοντο διὰ τὰς ἀτυχίας καὶ διὰ τὰ ἀναλώματα, ἰδίᾳ δέ τινες νῆας αἰτήσαντες, ὥστ' ἐκείνας μὲν ἀποκαταστῆσαι, τὴν λείαν δὲ οἰκειώσασθαι, ἄλλα τε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκάκωσαν, καὶ ἐς Ἱππῶνα Λιβυκὴν πόλιν εἰσπλεύσαντες τά τε πλοῖα πάντα καὶ πολλὰ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων κατέπρησαν. τῶν δ' ἐπιχωρίων τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος διαλαβόντων ἁλύσεσιν, ἐν περιστάσει ἐγένοντο, σοφίᾳ δὲ καὶ τύχῃ περιεγένοντο. σπουδῇ γὰρ ταῖς ἁλύσεσι προσπεσόντες, ἐπεὶ προσάψασθαι αὐτῶν ἔμελλον οἱ ἔμβολοι τῶν νηῶν, μετέστησαν ἐς τὰς πρύμνας οἱ τοῦ πληρώματος, καὶ οὕτως αἱ πρῷραι κουφισθεῖσαι ὑπερῆραν τὰς ἁλύσεις, αὖθις δ' ἐς τὰς πρῴρας αὐτῶν μεταπηδησάντων αἱ πρύμναι τῶν σκαφῶν ἐμετεωρίσθησαν. καὶ διεξέδραμον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο περὶ τὸ Πάνορμον ναυσὶ Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκησαν.

Οἱ δ' ὕπατοι, Μέτελλος μὲν Καικίλιος περὶ τὸ Λιλύβαιον ἦν, Νουμέριος δὲ Φάβιος τῷ Δρεπάνῳ προσήδρευε καὶ ἐπεβούλευσε τῇ νησῖδι τῇ Πελιάδι καλουμένῃ, προκατειλημμένῃ παρὰ Καρχηδονίων, στρατιώτας πέμψας νυκτός, οἳ τοὺς φρου-

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on account of their pay, whereupon he put a large number ashore on desert islands and left them there, and sent many more off to Carthage. When the rest learned of this, they became indignant, and were ready to mutiny. Hamilcar, Carthalo's successor, cut down many of them one night and had many others thrown into the sea. In the meantime the Romans had concluded a perpetual friendship with Hiero, and they furthermore remitted all the tribute which they were accustomed to receive from him annually.

The next year the Romans refrained officially from B.C. 247
naval warfare, because of their misfortunes and expenses, but some private individuals asked for ships on condition of restoring the vessels but appropriating any booty gained; and among other injuries that they inflicted upon the enemy, they sailed to Hippo, an African city, and there burned up all the boats and many of the buildings. The natives put chains across the mouth of the harbour, and the invaders found themselves in an awkward situation, but escaped by cleverness and good fortune. They made a quick dash at the chains, and just as the beaks of the ships were about to catch in them, the members of the crews moved back to the stern, and so the prows were lightened and cleared the chains; and again, when all rushed into the prows, the sterns of the vessels were lifted high in the air. Thus they effected their escape, and later near Panormus they conquered the Carthaginians on the sea.

As for the consuls, Metellus Caecilius was in the vicinity of Lilybaeum, and Numerius Fabius was investing Drepanum, where he formed a plan to capture the little isle of Pelias. As this had been seized earlier by the Carthaginians, he sent soldiers

43, 25 Καὶ γὰρ ἡγεῖτο δεῖν τόν τι δι' ἀπορρήτων πρᾶξαι βουλόμενον μηδενὶ αὐτὸ τὸ παράπαν ἐμφαίνειν· οὐδένα γὰρ οὕτως ἰσχυρόφρονα εἶναι ὡς ἀκούσαντά τι καρτερῆσαι καὶ σιωπῆσαι αὐτὸ ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν[1] τοὐναντίον, ὅσῳ ἂν ἀπορρηθῇ τινὶ μὴ εἰπεῖν τι, τόσῳ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμεῖν αὐτὸ ἐκλαλῆσαι, καὶ οὕτως ἕτερον παρ' ἑτέρου τὸ ἀπόρρητον ὡς καὶ μόνον μανθάνοντα φημίζειν.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 116v (M. p. 540).

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ρους κτείναντες τὴν νῆσον εἶλον. ὃ μαθὼν Ἀμίλκας ἕωθεν τοῖς διαβεβηκόσιν ἐπέθετο· οἷς οὐκ ἔχων ἀμῦναι ὁ Φάβιος τῷ Δρεπάνῳ προσέμιξεν, ὡς ἢ τὴν πόλιν δι' ἐρημίαν αἱρήσων ἢ τῆς νήσου τὸν Ἀμίλκαν ἀπάξων. καὶ ἠνύσθη τὸ ἕν· φοβηθεὶς γὰρ ὁ Ἀμίλκας ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ ὁ Φάβιος τὴν Πελιάδα κατέσχε, καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου στενὸν καὶ τεναγῶδες τυγχάνον συγχώσας ἠπείρωσε, καὶ ῥᾷον προσεπολέμει τοῦ τείχους ἐκεῖ ὄντος ἀσθενεστέρου. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι συχνὰ παρελύπουν αὐτοὺς εἰς Σικελίαν τε περιπλέοντες καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιούμενοι. τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἀλλήλων ἄνδρα ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς ἠλλάξαντο· τοὺς δὲ λοιπούς, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἦσαν ἰσοπληθεῖς, ἀργυρίου οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐκομίσαντο.

Ἔκτοτε δὲ διάφοροι μὲν ὑπάτευσαν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἱστορίας ἔπραξαν ἄξιον· μέγιστον γὰρ οἱ Ῥω-

[1] πᾶν Bs., πάνυ Mss.

For he thought it was requisite for a man who wished to accomplish anything by secret means not to make the matter known to anyone at all. There was no one, he believed, so self-possessed as to be willing, when he had heard a secret, to persevere in maintaining silence; on the contrary, the more strictly a man might be forbidden to mention anything, the greater would be his desire to talk about it, and thus, as one man learned the secret from another, with the understanding that he was the only person to know it, he would divulge it.[1] B.C. 244

Zonaras 8, 16.

by night, who killed the garrison and took possession of the island. Learning this, Hamilcar at dawn attacked the troops who had crossed to it. Fabius, unable to defend them, led an assault upon Drepanum, in order either to capture the city while deserted or to draw Hamilcar away from the island. One of these objects was accomplished, for Hamilcar in fear retired within the fortifications. So Fabius occupied Pelias, and by filling in the strait, which was a shallow one, between it and the mainland he made a stretch of solid ground, and thus conducted more easily his operations against the wall, which was rather weak at that point. The Carthaginians caused the Romans much annoyance also by sailing over to Sicily and making trips across into Italy. They exchanged each other's captives man for man; and those left over—since the numbers were not equal—the Carthaginians got back for money.

In the period that followed various persons became consuls, but effected nothing worthy of record.

[1] Section 25 may refer to Hamilcar Barca's plans for seizing Mount Eryx.

μαῖοι ἐσφάλλοντο ὅτι κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν ἄλλους, εἶθ ἑτέρους ἄρχοντας ἔπεμπον, ἄρτι τε τὴν στρατηγίαν μανθάνοντας τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔπαυον, ὥσπερ εἰς ἄσκησιν σφᾶς, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ εἰς χρῆσιν αἱρούμενοι.

Οἱ Γαλάται δὲ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις συμμαχοῦντες, καὶ μισοῦντες αὐτοὺς ὅτι κακῶς μετεχειρίζοντο σφᾶς, φρουρίου τινὸς φυλακὴν ἐμπιστευθέντες, τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸ προήκαντο ἐπὶ χρήμασι. μεταστάντας δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων Γαλάτας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν σφῶν συμμάχων τινὰς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπὶ μισθοφορᾷ προσελάβοντο, μήπω πρότερον τρέφοντες ξενικόν. τούτοις οὖν ἐπαιρόμενοι, καὶ ὅτι οἱ τὰς ναῦς ἔχοντες ἰδιῶται τὴν Λιβύην ἐπόρθησαν, οὐκέτι ἀμελεῖν τῆς θαλάσσης ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὖθις ναυτικὸν συνεστήσαντο.

17. Καὶ Λουτάτιος Κατύλος ὕπατος ᾑρέθη, καὶ τούτῳ συνεξεπέμφθη Κύιντος Οὐαλλέριος Φλάκκος ἀστυνομῶν. οἳ ἐς Σικελίαν ἐλθόντες καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν τῷ Δρεπάνῳ προσέβαλον, καί τι τοῦ τείχους κατήρειψαν· καὶ εἷλον ἂν αὐτό, εἰ μὴ τοῦ ὑπάτου τρωθέντος, περὶ ἐκεῖνον οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπησχολήθησαν. κἀν τούτῳ μαθόντες τοὺς πολεμίους οἴκοθεν ἥκειν ναυτικῷ πλήθει, Ἄννωνος ναυαρχοῦντος, πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐτράποντο. καὶ ἀντιπαραταξαμένων αὐτῶν ἄστρον τι λαμπαδῶδες ὕπερθεν τῶν Ῥωμαίων φανὲν ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς εἰς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀρθὲν ἐγκατέσκηψεν. ἐγένετο δ᾽ ἡ ναυμαχία καὶ

Zonaras 8, 16–17.

The Romans owed the majority of their reverses to the fact that they kept sending out from year to year different and ever different leaders, and took away their office from them when they were just learning the art of generalship. It looked as if they were choosing them for practice and not for service.

The Gauls, who were acting in alliance with the Carthaginians, and hated them because they were ill-treated by them, abandoned to the Romans for money a position with whose defence they had been entrusted. These Gauls and other allies of the Carthaginians who had revolted from their service the Romans secured as mercenaries; up to this time they had never supported a foreign contingent. Elated at this accession, and furthermore by the ravaging of Africa on the part of the private citizens who were managing the ships, they were no longer willing to neglect the sea, but again got together a fleet.

17. Lutatius Catulus was chosen consul, and with B.C. 241
him was sent out Quintus Valerius Flaccus, who was praetor urbanus. On coming to Sicily they assailed Drepanum both by land and sea, and demolished a section of the wall. Indeed, they would have captured the town but for the fact that the consul was wounded and the soldiers were occupied in caring for him. In the meantime they learned that a body of the enemy had come from home with an immense fleet commanded by Hanno, and they turned their attention to these new arrivals. When the forces had been marshalled in hostile array, a star resembling a torch appeared above the Romans and after rising high to the left of the Carthaginians plunged into their ranks. The naval combat was a

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ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν καρτερὰ δι' ἄλλα τε καὶ ἵνα μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι ἐς τελείαν ἀπόγνωσιν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καταστήσωσιν, οἱ δ' ἵνα καὶ τὰς προτέρας ἀνακαλέσωνται συμφοράς. ὅμως δ' οὖν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν νίκην ἤραντο· τὰ γὰρ τῶν Καρχηδονίων σκάφη, φορτία φέροντα πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ σῖτον καὶ χρήματα, ἐβαρύνοντο.

Ὁ δ' Ἄννων διαφυγὼν εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἠπείχθη. οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ θυμῷ ληφθέντες καὶ φόβῳ τὸν μὲν ἀνεσταύρωσαν, πρέσβεις δὲ πρὸς εἰρήνην τῷ Κατύλῳ πεπόμφασι. καὶ τῷ πρὸς βουλῆς ἦν τὸν πόλεμον καταλύσασθαι, ὅτι ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ οὔσης αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς οὔτε δι' ὀλίγου ἐξαιρήσειν τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἤλπιζεν οὔτε τοῖς διαδόχοις τὴν δόξαν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πόνων καταλιπεῖν ἤθελε. διὸ ἀνακωχὴν ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ χρήματα καὶ σῖτον καὶ ὁμήρους αὐτῷ δόντες, ἵν' ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πρεσβεύσωνται ἐπὶ τῷ Σικελίας τε αὐτοὺς πάσης ἐκστῆναι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ πάσας τὰς πέριξ νήσους ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ μήτε τῷ Ἱέρωνι πολεμεῖν καὶ χρήματα τὰ μὲν ἅμα τῷ σπείσασθαι δοῦναι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὕστερον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκείνων αὐτομόλους καὶ αἰχμαλώτους προῖκα ἐκπέμψαι, τοὺς δ' ἑαυτῶν πρίασθαι.

Τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν ἡ σύμβασις ὡμολόγητο· μόνην γὰρ τὴν τοῦ ζυγοῦ ἀτιμίαν ὁ Ἀμίλκας παρῃτήσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα συνθέμενος καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν ἐξαγαγὼν ἀπέπλευσεν οἴκαδε πρὶν τοὺς ὅρκους ἐπενεχθῆναι, οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τήν τε νίκην διὰ βραχέος ἔμαθον καὶ ἐπήρθησαν ὡς παντάπασι κεκρατηκότες. καὶ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐλθόντων οὐκέτι κατέχειν ἑαυτοὺς

vigorous one on the part of both nations, for several reasons; but in particular, the Carthaginians were anxious to drive the Romans into utter despair of naval success, and the Romans were eager to retrieve their former disasters. Nevertheless, the Romans gained the victory, for the Carthaginian vessels were impeded by the fact that they also carried freight, grain, and money.

Hanno escaped and hastened at once to Carthage. But the Carthaginians, seized with wrath and fear, crucified him and sent envoys to Catulus regarding peace. Now he was disposed to end the war, since his office was soon to expire; for he could not hope to destroy Carthage in a short time, and he did not care to leave to his successors the glory of his own labours. Hence, after they had given him money, grain, and hostages, they were granted an armistice, so that they might send envoys to Rome to sue for peace. The conditions were, that they should retire from the whole of Sicily, yielding it to the Romans, as well as abandon all the surrounding islands, that they should carry on no war with Hiero, and should pay an indemnity, a part at the time of making the treaty and a part later, and should return the Roman deserters and captives free of cost, while ransoming their own.

Such were the terms agreed upon; for Hamilcar succeeded merely in having the disgrace of passing under the yoke omitted. After settling these conditions he led his soldiers out of the fortifications and sailed for home before the oaths were administered. The people of Rome soon learned of the victory and were greatly elated, feeling that they had triumphed completely. And when the envoys arrived,

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ἠδύναντο, καὶ τὴν Λιβύην ἔχειν ἅπασαν ἤλπιζον. διὸ οὐδὲ ταῖς τοῦ ὑπάτου ὁμολογίαις ἐνέμειναν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα αὐτοὺς πολλῷ πλείω τῶν ὑπεσχημένων ἐπράξαντο· καὶ ἀπηγόρευσαν σφίσι μήτε τὴν Ἰταλίαν μήτε τὴν ἔξω συμμαχίδα σφῶν μακραῖς ναυσὶ παραπλεῖν ἢ μισθοφόροις τισὶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν κεχρῆσθαι.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις πόλεμος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις εἰς τοῦτο κατέληξε τετάρτῳ ἔτει καὶ εἰκοστῷ, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἤγαγεν ὁ Κατύλος τὰ ἐπινίκια, Κύιντος δὲ Λουτάτιος ὑπατεύσας ἀπῆλθεν ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Κατύλου πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ κατεστήσατο· καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀφείλοντο. Σικελία μὲν οὖν οὕτως ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων δεδούλωτο πλὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Ἱέρωνος, ἐκ δὲ τούτου πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους φιλία ἦν αὐτοῖς.

Ἄμφω δ' αὖθις εἰς πολέμους ἑτέρους χωρὶς μετ' ὀλίγον κατέστησαν. τοῖς γὰρ Καρχηδονίοις οἵ τε περίλοιποι τῶν μισθοφορησάντων σφίσι καὶ τὸ δουλεῦον τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ὁμορούντων πολλοὶ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτῶν συνεπέθεντο. οἵ γε μὴν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπικαλεσαμένων αὐτοὺς τῶν πολεμούντων ἐκείνοις, οὔθ' ὑπήκουσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιπρεσβευσάμενοι καὶ μὴ δυνηθέντες καταλλάξαι αὐτούς, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὅσους εἶχον ἀφῆκαν προῖκα, καὶ σῖτον ἔπεμψαν καὶ μισθοφόρους ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας συμμαχίδος αὐτοῖς ἐπαγαγέσθαι ἐπέτρεψαν, δόξαν ἐπιεικείας θηρώμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ συμφέροντος αὐτοῖς προμηθούμενοι. ὅθεν πράγματα ἔσχον εἰσέπειτα· ὁ γὰρ Ἀμίλκας ἐκεῖνος ὁ Βαρχίδης,

BOOK XII

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they could no longer restrain themselves, and hoped to possess all of Africa. Therefore they would not abide by the terms of the consul; instead, they exacted from their foes a much larger sum of money than had been promised, and also forbade them to sail past Italy or their allied territory abroad in ships of war, or to employ any mercenaries from such districts.

The first war between the Carthaginians and the Romans ended in this way, then, in the twenty-fourth year; and Catulus celebrated a triumph over its conclusion. Quintus Lutatius became consul and departed for Sicily, where with his brother Catulus he established order throughout the island; he also deprived the inhabitants of their arms. Thus Sicily, with the exception of Hiero's domain, was enslaved by the Romans; and thenceforth they were on friendly terms with the Carthaginians.

Both were soon again involved in other wars of their own. At Carthage the remnant of the mercenary force and the slave population in the city and many of their neighbours, taking advantage of the misfortunes of the state, joined in an attack upon it. The Romans did not heed the request of the rebels for aid, but sent envoys in return; and when they found themselves unable to reconcile the combatants, they released free of cost all the Carthaginian captives they were holding, sent grain to the city, and permitted it to gather mercenaries from among their own allies. By this action they were rather seeking to gain a reputation for fairness than displaying a real interest in their own advantage, and this later caused them trouble. For after conquering his adversaries, Hamilcar Barca, while he did not dare to

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ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐνίκησεν, ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καίπερ κάρτα μισῶν αὐτούς, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε στρατεῦσαι, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν παρὰ γνώμην τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν ἀπῆρεν.

18. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐγένετο ὕστερον, τότε δὲ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Φαλίσκοις ἐπολέμησαν καὶ Μάλλιος Τουρκουάτος τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδῄωσε. καὶ συμμίξας αὐτοῖς ἐσφάλη μὲν τῷ ὁπλιτικῷ, τοῖς δ' ἱππεῦσιν ἐκράτησε. καὶ αὖθις αὐτοῖς μαχεσάμενος ἐνίκησε, καὶ τά τε ὅπλα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἵππον καὶ τὰ ἔπιπλα καὶ τὸ δουλεῦον καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς χώρας ἀφείλετο. ὕστερον δὲ ἡ μὲν ἀρχαία πόλις εἰς ὄρος ἐρυμνὸν ἱδρυμένη κατεσκάφη, ἑτέρα δ' ᾠκοδομήθη εὐέφοδος. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπολέμησαν αὖθις πολέμους πρός τε Βοουίους καὶ πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐκείνοις πλησιοχώρους καὶ πρὸς Λιγύων τινάς. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Λίγυας Σεμπρώνιος Γράκχος μάχῃ νικήσας ἐκάκου, καὶ τοῖς Γαλάταις Πούπλιος Οὐαλλέριος συμβαλὼν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡττήθη, εἶτα πυθόμενος εἰς ἐπικουρίαν αὐτοῦ τινας ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἥκειν, ὁμόσε αὖθις τοῖς Γαλάταις ἐχώρησεν, ἵν' ἢ καθ' ἑαυτὸν νικήσῃ ἢ ἀποθάνῃ· τοῦτο γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶν αἰσχύνην ὄφλειν προείλετο· καί πως κατὰ τύχην ἐκράτησε.

Τότε μὲν οὖν ταῦθ' οὕτως τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συνήντησαν, καὶ Σαρδὼ παρὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀμαχεὶ χρήματά τε αὖθις ἔλαβον, ἐγκαλέσαντες αὐτοῖς

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 1312.

Οἱ δὲ Λίγυες τὴν παραλίαν ἀπὸ Τυρσηνίδος μέχρι τῶν Ἄλπεων καὶ ἄχρι Γαλατῶν νέμονται, ὥς φησι Δίων.

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make a campaign against the Romans, much as he hated them, nevertheless departed for Spain, contrary to the wishes of the magistrates at home.

18. This, however, took place later. At the time under discussion the Romans made war upon the Faliscans and Manlius Torquatus ravaged their country. In a battle with them his heavy infantry was worsted, but his cavalry conquered. In a second engagement with them he was victorious and took possession of their arms, their cavalry, their goods, their slaves, and half their country. Later on the original city, which was set upon a steep mountain, was torn down and another one was built, easy of access. After this the Romans again waged war B.C. 238
upon the Boii and upon the Gauls who were neighbours of the latter, and upon some of the Ligurians. So the Ligurians were conquered in battle and harried by Sempronius Gracchus; in a conflict with the Gauls, however, Publius Valerius was at first defeated, but later, learning that troops had come from Rome to his assistance, he renewed the struggle with the enemy, determined either to conquer by his own exertions or to die—for he preferred death to living in disgrace—and by some good fortune or other he gained the victory.

Such were the events, then, that befell the Romans at this time. They also secured Sardinia from the Carthaginians, without a battle, as well as a fresh supply of money, by charging them with injuring

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 1312.

The Ligurians dwell along the coast from Etruria up to the Alps and to the Gauls, according to Dio.

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βλάπτειν σφῶν τοὺς πλέοντας· οὔπω γὰρ κρατυνθέντες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὰς ἀπειλὰς αὐτῶν ἐδεδίεσαν· τῷ δ' ἑξῆς ἔτει Λούκιος Λέντουλος καὶ Κύιντος Φλάκκος ἐπὶ τοὺς Γαλάτας στρατεύσαντες, ἕως μὲν ὁμοῦ διῆγον, ἦσαν ἀνανταγώνιστοι, ἐπεὶ δὲ διχῇ πορθεῖν τινα ἤρξαντο, ὡς οὕτω πλείω λείαν περιβαλούμενοι, ἐς κίνδυνον τὸ τοῦ Φλάκκου κατέστη στρατόπεδον, νυκτὸς κυκλωθέν. ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀνεκόπησαν, προσλαβόμενοι δὲ συμμάχους χειρὶ πολλῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὖθις ἐχώρησαν. ἀπαντησάντων δὲ σφίσι Πουπλίου τε Λεντούλου καὶ Λικιννίου Οὐάρου ἤλπισαν αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ σφέτερον καὶ ἄνευ μάχης καταπλήξειν· καὶ πέμψαντες τήν τε χώραν τὴν περὶ τὸ Ἀρίμινον ἀπῄτουν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὡς αὐτῶν οὔσης ἐξοικισθῆναι ἐκέλευον. οἱ δ' ὕπατοι μήτε συμβαλεῖν θαρροῦντες δι' ὀλιγότητα μήτε τι προέσθαι τολμῶντες ἀνοχὰς ἔπραξαν, ὡς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πρεσβεύσωνται. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐλθόντες τὰ αὐτὰ εἶπον. ὡς δ' οὐδενὸς οἱ πρέσβεις ὧν ᾔτουν ἐτύγχανον, εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν. καὶ εὗρον ἐφθαρμένα σφίσι τὰ πράγματα· τινὲς γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν μεταγνόντες καὶ διὰ φόβου τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πεποιημένοι ἐτράποντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Βοουίους, καὶ συχνοὶ ἀπώλοντο ἀμφοτέρωθεν, κἀντεῦθεν ἀπῆλθον οἴκαδε οἱ λοιποί, καὶ οἱ Βοούιοι σπονδὰς ἐπὶ μέρει πολλῷ τῆς χώρας σφῶν ἐποιήσαντο.

Ἤδη δὲ τῶν Γαλατικῶν λυθέντων πολέμων ὁ Λέντουλος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Λίγυας, καὶ τοὺς προσπίπτοντας ἠμύνετο καί τινα ἐρύματα παρεστήσατο. Οὐάρος δὲ ἐπὶ Κύρνον ὁρμήσας, καὶ μὴ

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Roman shipping. For the Carthaginians had not yet recovered strength, and feared their threats. The next year Lucius Lentulus and Quintus Flaccus made a campaign against the Gauls; and as long as they remained together, they were invincible, but when they began to pillage districts separately, with the purpose of securing greater booty, the army of Flaccus became imperilled, being surrounded by night. For the time the barbarians were beaten back, but after gaining accessions of allies they proceeded anew with a huge force against the Romans. When confronted by Publius Lentulus and Licinius Varus, they hoped to terrify them by their numbers and prevail without a battle. So they sent and demanded back the land surrounding Ariminum and commanded the Romans to vacate the city, since it belonged to them. The consuls, because of their small numbers, did not dare to risk a battle, nor would they undertake to abandon any territory; accordingly they arranged an armistice, to enable the Gauls to send envoys to Rome. These came before the senate with the same demands, but obtained no satisfaction, and returned to camp. There they found their cause was lost. For some of their allies repented, and regarding the Romans with fear, turned upon the Boii, and many were killed on both sides. Thereupon the remainder went home and the Boii obtained peace at the price of a large portion of their land.

B.C. 237

B.C. 236

When the Gallic wars had now been ended, Lentulus conducted a campaign against the Ligurians; he repulsed those who attacked him and gained possession of several fortresses. Varus set out for Corsica, but inasmuch as he lacked the necessary ships to

45 Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Κλαύδιον, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τοὺς Κυρνίους[1] συνθήκας ἐποιήσατο, πόλεμον ἀράμενοι καὶ αὐτοὺς χειρωσάμενοι,[2] τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου τὸ παρασπονδηθὲν ἀλλ' οὐχ ἑαυτῶν τὸ[3] αἰτίαμα ὄν, ἔπεμψαν ἐκδιδόντες αὐτοῖς, μὴ προσδεξαμένων δέ σφων αὐτὸν ἐξήλασαν.—V. 29 (p. 593).

46 Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους χρήματα ἐπιπραξάμενοι τὰς σπονδὰς ἀνενεώσαντο, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρεσβείᾳ αὐτῶν ἐλθούσῃ, ὅτι τε τῆς σφετέρας παρασκευῆς ᾔσθοντο καὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους πολέμῳ ἔτι καὶ τότε κατείχοντο, μέτριον οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο[4]

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δυνηθεὶς ἀπορίᾳ πλοίων περαιωθῆναι, Κλαύδιόν τινα Κλινέαν σὺν δυνάμει προέπεμψε. κἀκεῖνος τοὺς Κυρνίους καταπλήξας ἐς λόγους ἦλθε, καὶ ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ τυγχάνων ἐσπείσατο. Οὔαρος δὲ τῶν συνθηκῶν μὴ φροντίσας ἐπολέμησε τοῖς Κυρνίοις, ἕως αὐτοὺς ἐχειρώσατο. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὸ παρασπόνδημα ἀποπροσποιούμενοι, ἔπεμψαν αὐτοῖς ἐκδιδόντες τὸν Κλαύδιον· ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐδέχθη, ἐξήλασαν αὐτόν. ἐπὶ δὲ Καρχηδονίους μέλλοντες στρατεύσειν, ὡς τοῖς σφῶν ἐμπόροις λυμαινομένους, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησαν, χρήματα δ' ἐπιπραξάμενοι ἀνενεώσαντο τὰς σπονδάς. ἔμελλον

[1] Κυρνίους Melber, λίγυας Ms. [2] ἐποιήσατο—ἀράμενοι—χειρωσάμενοι Val., ἐποιήσαντο—ἀράμενον—χειρωσάμενον Ms. [3] τὸ added by Val. [4] τοῦτο Leuncl., τοῦτον Mss.

After Claudius had made terms with the Corsicans, and the Romans had then waged war upon them and subdued them, they first sent Claudius to them, offering to surrender him, on the ground that the fault in breaking the compact lay with him and not with themselves; and when the Corsicans refused to receive him, they drove him into exile. B.C. 236

The Romans, after exacting more money from the Carthaginians, renewed the truce. At first, however, upon the arrival of the embassy which the latter had sent because they realized their foes' state of preparedness and also because they themselves were still occupied at that time with the war against the neighbouring tribes, they had given them no mild answer. Afterwards Hanno, a man B.C. 235

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carry him over, he sent a certain Claudius Clineas ahead with a force. The latter terrified the Corsicans, held a conference with them, and made peace as though he had full authority to do so. Varus, however, ignored this agreement and fought the Corsicans until he had subjugated them. The Romans, to divert from themselves the blame for breaking the compact, sent Claudius to them, offering to surrender him; and when he was not received, they drove him into exile. They were on the point of making an expedition against the Carthaginians, alleging that these were committing outrages upon their merchants; but instead of doing so, they exacted more money and renewed the truce. Yet

Ἄννωνός τινος νέου τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ δεινοῦ τῇ[1] παρρησίᾳ πεμφθέντος, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἀπαρακαλύπτως καὶ τέλος ὅτι "εἰ μὴ βούλεσθε εἰρηνεῖν, ἀπόδοτε ἡμῖν καὶ Σαρδὼ καὶ Σικελίαν· οὐ γὰρ πρόσκαιρόν τινα ἀνοχὴν ἀλλ' ἀίδιον φιλίαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπριάμεθα" εἰπόντος, ἠπιώτεροί τε αἰσχυνθέντες ἐγένοντο . . U[c] 6 (p. 378) (οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι—ἀνενεώσαντο Suid. *s. v.* ἐπιπραξάμενοι).

2 . . . οἱ[2] δὲ μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀντιπάθωσιν, ὥστε καὶ πάνυ ἀσμένως οἱ μὲν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρόσθεν εὐτυχίαν διασώσασθαι, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ γοῦν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων[3] σφίσι μεῖναι αἱρούμενοι διεμέλλησαν, καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς μηκέτι τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγοντες, τοῖς ἔργοις ἔτι διασκοποῦντες[4] περὶ αὐτῆς[5] ἀνέσχον, ὥσθ' ἅπασι δῆλον γενέσθαι ὅτι ὁποτέροις ἂν αὐτῶν προτέροις παρακινῆσαί τι συνενέγκῃ, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου προκατάρξουσιν. ἐς γὰρ τοσοῦτον οἱ πολλοὶ ταῖς ὁμολογίαις ἐμμένουσιν ἐς ὅσον αὐτοῖς καὶ καθήκῃ· πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸ μᾶλλόν σφισι συμφέρον ἀσφαλὲς καὶ τὸ[6] παρασπονδῆσαί τι νομίζουσιν εἶναι.—M. 125 (p. 184).

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δὲ μηδ' ὣς ἐς μακρὰν αἱ συνθῆκαι μένειν. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀνεβέβλητο, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Σαρδονίους μὴ πειθομένους αὐτοῖς ἐστράτευσαν· καὶ ἐνίκησαν. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἔπεισαν τοὺς Σαρ-

[1] τῇ added by Leuncl. [2] See note on Fr. 43, 21.
[3] ὑπαρχόντων Mai, ὑπάρχων Ms.
[4] ἔτι διασκοποῦντες Bk., ἐπιδιασκοποῦντες Ms.
[5] αὐτῆς Bs., τῆς αὐτῆς Ms. [6] τὸ Bk., τὸ μὴ Ms.

of youthful years who used striking frankness of speech, was sent. He spoke his mind unreservedly on a number of matters, and finally exclaimed: "If you do not wish to be at peace, restore to us both Sardinia and Sicily; for with these we purchased not a temporary truce, but eternal friendship." Thus shamed, they not only became milder . . .

. . . and the others, lest they might in turn suffer the same injuries; so that they were very glad to delay, the one side choosing to preserve the prosperity inherited from the past, and the other to hold on at least to what it had. So far as their threats went, they were no longer keeping the peace, but when it came to deeds they still continued to deliberate about it, so that it became clear to all that whichever of the two nations first found it to its advantage to make a move would likewise be the one to begin the war. Indeed, most men abide by their compacts just so long as suits their own convenience; but in the interest of some greater advantage to themselves, they deem it safe even to break a truce.

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the treaty was not destined even thus to be of long standing. The case of the Carthaginians was accordingly postponed; but the Romans made an expedition against the Sardinians, who would not yield obedience, and conquered them. Later the B.C. 235

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δονίους οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κρύφα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπαναστῆναι. καὶ τούτοις οἱ Κύρνιοι προσαπέστησαν, καὶ οἱ Λίγυες οὐχ ἡσύχασαν.

Τῷ δ' ἐπιγενομένῳ ἔτει τριχῇ τὰς δυνάμεις διελόμενοι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἵν' ἅμα πολεμούμενοι πάντες μὴ συμβοηθοῖεν ἀλλήλοις, Ποστούμιον μὲν Ἀλβῖνον εἰς τὴν Λιγυστικήν, Σπούριον δὲ Καρουίλιον ἐπὶ τοὺς Κυρνίους, ἐς δὲ τὴν Σαρδὼ τὸν ἀστυνόμον Πούπλιον Κορνήλιον ἔπεμψαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι οὐκ ἀπόνως μέν, οὐ βραδέως δὲ τὰ προσταχθέντα σφίσι κατέπραξαν· τοὺς δὲ Σαρδονίους μή τι μέτριον φρονοῦντας ἰσχυρᾷ μάχῃ ὁ Καρουίλιος κατεστρέψατο· ὁ γὰρ Κορνήλιος καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πολλοὶ ὑπὸ νόσου ἐφθάρησαν. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀπηλλάγησαν, ἀπέστησαν αὖθις οἱ Σαρδόνιοι καὶ οἱ Λίγυες. Κύιντος μὲν οὖν Φάβιος Μάξιμος ἐπέμφθη πρὸς Λίγυας, ἐς δέ γε τὴν Σαρδὼ Πομπώνιος Μάνιος. τούς γε μὴν Καρχηδονίους ὡς αἰτίους αὐτοῖς τῶν πολέμων ὄντας πολεμίους ἔκριναν, καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς χρήματά τε ἀπῄτουν καὶ ἁπασῶν ἐκπλεῖν τῶν νήσων ἐπέταττον ὡς αὐτοῖς διαφερουσῶν. ἐκφαίνοντες δὲ καὶ τὴν σφετέραν διάνοιαν δόρυ αὐτοῖς ἐπέστειλαν καὶ κηρύκειον, ἓν ἑλέσθαι κελεύοντες, ὁποῖον ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν. οἱ δὲ μηδὲν ὑποπτήξαντες τά τε ἄλλα τραχύτερον ἀπεκρίναντο καὶ τῶν πεμφθέντων σφίσιν αἱρεῖσθαι μὲν εἶπον οὐδέτερον, δέχεσθαι δ' ἑτοίμως ὁπότερον καταλείψουσιν. ἐντεῦθεν ἐμίσουν μὲν ἀλλήλους, ὤκνουν δὲ πολέμου κατάρξασθαι.

Κινηθέντων δ' αὖθις τῶν Σαρδονίων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς

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Carthaginians secretly persuaded the Sardinians to rise against the Romans. In addition to this the Corsicans also revolted and the Ligurians did not remain quiet.

The following year the Romans divided their forces B.C. 234 into three parts in order that the rebels, finding war waged upon all of them at once, might not render assistance to one another; so they sent Postumius Albinus into Liguria, Spurius Carvilius against the Corsicans, and Publius Cornelius, the praetor urbanus, to Sardinia. And the consuls accomplished their missions with some speed, though not without trouble. The Sardinians, who were animated by no little spirit, were vanquished in a fierce battle by Carvilius; for Cornelius and many of his soldiers had perished by disease. When the Romans left their country, the Sardinians and the Ligurians revolted again. Quintus B.C. 233 Fabius Maximus was accordingly sent against the Ligurians and Pomponius Manius to Sardinia. The Romans declared the Carthaginians, as the instigators of these wars, to be enemies, and they sent to them demanding money and bidding them remove their ships from all these islands, since these ports belonged to them. And to make their mind perfectly clear, they sent a spear and a herald's staff, bidding them choose one, whichever they pleased. The Carthaginians, quite undismayed, returned a sufficiently curt answer, in which they stated that they chose neither of the articles sent them, but were ready to accept either that the Romans might leave with them. Henceforth the two nations hated each other but hesitated to begin war.

When the Sardinians once more rose against the B.C. 232

48 Ὅτι πρέσβεις ποτὲ ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ[1] .... Γαΐου Παπιρίου, καίπερ μηδὲν μηδέπω τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν σφισι προσηκόντων, ἀπέστειλαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος τά τε ἄλλα ἐδεξιώσατο καὶ λόγοις ἐπιτηδείοις διήγαγεν, εἰπὼν ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι ἀναγκαίως τοῖς Ἴβηρσι πολεμεῖ, ἵνα τὰ χρήματα ἃ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔτι πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπωφείλετο ἀποδοθῇ, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἄλλοθέν ποθεν αὐτὰ ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ὥστε τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπορῆσαι ὅ τι οἱ ἐπιτιμήσωσιν.—M. 126 (p. 184).

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οἱ ὕπατοι ἄμφω ἐστράτευσαν Μάρκος τε Μαλέολος καὶ Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν λάφυρα ἔλαβον, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Κυρνίων προσσχόντες αὐτοῖς αὐτὰ ἀφῃρέθησαν. διὸ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτράποντο. καὶ Μάρκος μὲν Πομπώνιος Σαρδόνας ἔφερε, καὶ μαθὼν τοὺς πλείονας αὐτῶν ἐς σπήλαια ὑλώδη καὶ δυσεξεύρετα καταδύντας, μὴ δυνάμενός τε αὐτοὺς εὑρεῖν, κύνας ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας μετεπέμψατο εὔρινας, καὶ δι' ἐκείνων τὴν στίβον καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων εὑρὼν πολλὰ ἀπετέμετο· Γάιος δὲ Παπείριος ἐκ μὲν τῶν πεδίων τοὺς Κυρνίους ἀπήλασε, βιαζόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὰ ὄρη συχνοὺς ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἀπέβαλε, πλείους τε ἂν ὕδατος ἀπορίᾳ ἀπώλεσεν, εἰ μή που ὕδωρ ὀψέ ποτε ἀνεφάνη καὶ ἔπεισε τοὺς Κυρνίους ὁμολογῆσαι.

[1] Bs. recognized the lacuna after κατασκοπῇ and suggested, to complete the sense, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀμίλκου πραχθέντων, ὑπατευόντων Μάρκου Πομπωνίου καὶ.

On one occasion they sent envoys to investigate [the movements of Hamilcar, in the consulship of Marcus Pomponius and] Gaius Papirius, in spite of the fact that they had no interests in Spain as yet. Hamilcar showed them all due honour and offered them plausible explanations, declaring, among other things, that he was obliged to fight against the Spaniards in order that the money which was still owing to the Romans on the part of the Carthaginians might be paid; for it was impossible to obtain it from any other source. The envoys were consequently embarrassed to know how to censure him. B.C. 231

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Romans, both the consuls, Marcus Malleolus and Marcus Aemilius, took the field. And they secured many spoils, which were taken away from them, however, by the Corsicans when they touched at their island. Hence the Romans now turned their attention B.C. 231 to both these peoples. Marcus Pomponius proceeded to harry Sardinia, but could not find many of the inhabitants, who as he learned, had slipped into caves of the forest, difficult to locate; therefore he sent for keen-scented dogs from Italy, and with their aid discovered the trail of both men and cattle and cut off many such parties. Gaius Papirius drove the Corsicans from the plains, but in attempting to force his way to the mountains he lost numerous men through ambush and would have suffered the loss of still more owing to the scarcity of water, had not water at length been found; then the Corsicans were induced to come to terms.

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19. Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ Ἀμίλκας ὁ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγὸς πρὸς Ἰβήρων νικηθεὶς ἔθανεν. ἀντιπαραταξαμένου γὰρ σφίσιν ἁμάξας δᾳδῶν καὶ πίσσης μεστὰς πρὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων προήγαγον, καὶ πλησιάσαντες ἀνῆψαν αὐτάς, καὶ τὰ ἕλκοντα αὐτὰς ὑποζύγια ἐπισπέρχοντες οἴστρησαν. κἀκ τούτου συνταραχθέντων τῶν ἐναντίων διασπασθέντων τε καὶ τραπομένων, ἑπόμενοι κἀκεῖνον καὶ ἄλλους πλείστους ἐφόνευσαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθήσας οὕτως ἐτελεύτησε, τελευτήσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀσδρούβας ὁ γαμβρὸς διεδέξατο. καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας πολλὰ προσεκτήσατο, πόλιν τε ἐν αὐτῇ Καρχηδόνα ὁμώνυμον τῇ πατρίδι ἔκτισε.

Τῶν δέ γε Βοουίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Γαλατῶν πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, πλείστους δὲ καὶ αἰχμαλώτους πωλούντων, δείσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μήποτε κατ' αὐτῶν τοῖς χρήμασι χρήσωνται, ἀπεῖπον μηδένα ἀνδρὶ Γαλάτῃ μήτ' ἀργύριον μήτε χρυσίον διδόναι. ἐντεῦθεν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μαθόντες τοὺς ὑπάτους Μάρκον Αἰμίλιον καὶ Μάρκον Ἰούνιον εἰς τὴν Λιγυστικὴν ἀπάραντας, παρεσκευάζοντο εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλάσαι. γνόντων δὲ τοῦτο τῶν ὑπάτων, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀθρόον ὡρμηκότων, ἐξεπλάγησαν καὶ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς ὡς φίλιοι. κἀκεῖνοι δὲ ὑπεκρίθησαν ὅτι οὐκ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἀπῄεσαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Λίγυας.

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τόν τε Ἰόνιον ἐπεραιώθησαν καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἥψαντο· πρόφασις δ'

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19. About this time also Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general, was defeated by the Spaniards and lost his life. For, as he was arrayed in battle against them, they led out in front of the Carthaginian army waggons full of pine wood and pitch and when they drew near they set fire to these vehicles, then hurried on the animals drawing them by goading them to madness. Forthwith their opponents were thrown into confusion, became disorganized, and turned to flight, and the Spaniards, pursuing, killed Hamilcar and a great many besides. Thus, after a remarkably successful career, Hamilcar met his end; and at his death his son-in-law Hasdrubal succeeded him. The latter acquired many new districts of Spain and founded there a city, called Carthage after his native place. B.C. 230

In view of the fact that the Boii and the rest of the Gauls were offering for sale various articles and an especially large number of captives, the Romans became afraid that they might some day use the money against them, and accordingly forbade anybody to give to a Gaul either silver or gold. Soon afterward the Carthaginians,[1] learning that the consuls, Marcus Aemilius and Marcus Junius, had started for Liguria, made preparations to march upon Rome. But when the consuls became aware of this and proceeded suddenly against them, they became frightened and went to meet them as if they were friends. The consuls likewise feigned that they had not set out against these people, but were going through their country into the Ligurian territory.

And the Romans crossed the Ionian Gulf and laid hands upon the Greek mainland. They found an

[1] A mistake on the part of Zonaras. Some Gallic tribe is evidently meant.

49 Ὅτι Ἴσσα ἡ νῆσος ἑκουσία ἑαυτὴν Ῥωμαίοις παρέδωκεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τότε πρῶτον πειρᾶσθαί σφων ἔμελλον, καὶ προσφιλεστέρους αὐτοὺς καὶ πιστοτέρους τῶν ἤδη φοβερῶν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, κρείττους ἐς τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ προδήλου τῷ λογισμῷ[1] γιγνόμενοι, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἤδη προσκεῖσθαί σφισιν ἀχθηδόνα, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ προσδοκᾶσθαι ἐλπίδα χρηστὴν ἔφερεν.—M. 127 (p. 184).

2 Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς Ἰσσαίους προσχωρήσαντας αὐτοῖς, ἀνθυπουργεῖν τι εὐθὺς τούτοις προθύμως, ὡς[2] τοῖς πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἐσπουδακόσι[3] βοηθεῖν δοκεῖν, καὶ τοὺς Ἀρδιαίους[4] ἀμύνεσθαι, διότι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου ἐκπλέοντας ἐκακούργουν, ἐθελήσαντες, ἔπεμψαν πρὸς Ἄγρωνα τοὺς μὲν παραιτούμενοι, τὸν δὲ ὅτι μηδὲν προπαθὼν ἀδικοίη σφᾶς αἰτιώμενοι. καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐκέτι περιόντα εὗρον, ἀλλά τι παιδίον, Πίννην

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αὐτοῖς τοῦ πλοῦ ἐγένετο ἥδε. Ἴσσα νῆσός ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ κειμένη. οἱ γοῦν ταύτης κάτοικοι Ἰσσαῖοι καλούμενοι ἐθελονταὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παραδεδώκασιν ἑαυτούς, τῷ σφῶν κρατοῦντι ἀχθόμενοι Ἀγρῶνι τῷ τῶν Σαρδιαίων βασιλεῖ, γένους Ἰλλυρικοῦ. πρὸς ὃν πρέσβεις οἱ ὕπατοι ἔπεμψαν. ἐκείνου δὲ τεθνεῶτος ἐπὶ υἱῷ

[1] τῷ λογισμῷ Gros, τῶν λογισμῶν Ms. [2] ὡς inserted by Leuncl. [3] ἐσπουδακόσι Urs., ἐσπουδακώς Mss. [4] Ἀρδιαίους Val., σαρδιαίους Mss. (and similarly below).

BOOK XII

The island of Issa surrendered itself voluntarily to the Romans. This was the first time the islanders were to make their acquaintance, but they regarded them as more friendly and trustworthy than those whom they had now come to dread. They reasoned that more reliance was to be placed on the unknown than on the known; for while the one, because of actual experience had with it, inspired resentment, the other, because of their anticipations, inspired good hope. B.C. 230

When the Issaeans had attached themselves to the Romans, the latter, desiring to show them some prompt and ready favour in return, so as to get the reputation of aiding such as joined their cause, and also to punish the Ardiaeans, who were annoying those who sailed from Brundisium, sent envoys to Agron, to ask clemency for the Issaeans and at the same time to censure the king for wronging them without cause. Now these men found Agron no longer alive; he had died, leaving

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excuse for the voyage in the following circumstances. Issa is an island situated in the Ionian Gulf. Its inhabitants, known as Issaeans, had of their own free will surrendered themselves to the Romans because they were angry with their ruler Agron, who was king of the Ardiaeans and of Illyrian stock. To him the consuls sent envoys. But he had died, leaving

ὄνομα, καταλιπὼν ἐτεθνήκει· Τεύτα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, μητρυιὰ δὲ τοῦ Πίννου, ἐκράτει τῶν Ἀρδιαίων . . .[1] ὑπὸ θρασύτητος οὖσα οὐδὲν μέτριον αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀλλ' οἷα γυνὴ πρὸς τῇ ἐμφύτῳ προπετείᾳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως ἧς εἶχε χαυνουμένη, τοὺς μὲν ἔδησε τῶν πρέσβεων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ
4 ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅτι ἐπαρρησιάσαντο. καὶ τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραξε, καὶ φρόνημα ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ τινὰ ἰσχὺν ἐν τῷ προχείρῳ τῆς ὠμότητος ἐπιδεδειγμένη, ἔλαβε· διήλεγξε δὲ δι' ἐλαχίστου τὴν τοῦ γυναικείου γένους ἀσθένειαν ταχὺ μὲν ὑπὸ βραχύτητος γνώμης ὀργιζομένην, ταχὺ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ
5 δειλίας φοβουμένην. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ[2] τάχιστα τὸν πόλεμον τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐψηφίσθαι οἱ ἐπύθετο, κατέπτηξε, καὶ τούς τε ἄνδρας οὓς εἶχεν αὐτῶν ἀποδώσειν ὑπέσχετο καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν

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διαδόχῳ παιδὶ ἔτι ἡ ἐκείνου γυνή, τοῦ δὲ παιδὸς μητρυιά, τὴν τῶν Σαρδιαίων διεῖπεν ἀρχήν. ἣ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν οὐδὲν μέτριον ἐχρημάτισε, παρρησιασαμένους δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἔδησε, τοὺς δὲ ἀπέκτεινε. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον ψηφισαμένων αὐτῇ κατέπτηξε, καὶ τούς τε σωζομένους τῶν πρέσβεων ἀποδώσειν ὑπέσχετο καὶ τοὺς θανόντας ἔλεγεν

[1] Lacuna recognized by Urs. [2] γὰρ added by Reim.

behind a child named Pinnes. Teuta, the wife of Agron and stepmother of Pinnes, was ruling the Ardiaeans, . . . as a result of her boldness, she gave them no respectful reply, but, woman-like, in addition to her innate recklessness, she was puffed up with vanity because of the power that she possessed; and she accordingly cast some of the ambassadors into prison and killed others for expressing themselves freely. Such was her action at that time, and she actually took pride in it as if she had displayed some strength by her facile cruelty. In a very short time, however, she demonstrated the weakness of the female sex, which quickly flies into a passion through lack of judgment, and quickly becomes terrified through cowardice. For just as soon as she learned that the Romans had voted for war against her she became panic-stricken, and promised to restore their men whom she held, while she tried to defend herself in the matter of the death of the

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as his successor a son who was still a mere child; and his wife, the boy's stepmother, was governing the realm of the Ardiaeans. She was not at all reasonable in her dealings with the ambassadors, and when they expressed themselves freely, she cast some of them into prison and killed others. As soon, however, as the Romans had voted for war against her, she became panic-stricken, promised to restore the ambassadors who were left alive, and declared that

ἀπελογεῖτο λέγουσα ὑπὸ λῃστῶν τινων αὐτοὺς πεφονεῦσθαι. τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων τὰ τῆς στρατείας διὰ τοῦτο ἐπισχόντων τοὺς δὲ αὐτόχειρας ἐξαιτησάντων κατεφρόνησέ τε αὖθις, ὅτι μηδέπω τὰ δεινὰ αὐτῇ παρῆν, καὶ οὔτε τινὰ ἐκδώσειν ἔφη
6 καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἴσσαν στράτευμα ἀπέστειλεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς ὑπάτους παρόντας ᾔσθετο, κατέδεισεν αὖ καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ ὑφῆκε καὶ ἐς πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ἐπακοῦσαί σφων ἑτοίμη ἐγένετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ παντάπασιν ἐσωφρονίσθη· τῶν γὰρ ὑπάτων πρὸς Κέρκυραν περαιωθέντων ἀνεθάρσησε, καὶ ἀποστᾶσα ἐπ' Ἐπίδαμνον καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν[1] στράτευμα ἀπέστειλε. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τὰς πόλεις ῥυσαμένων καὶ πλοῖα αὐτῆς μετὰ χρημάτων

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ὑπὸ λῃστῶν πεφονεῦσθαι. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς αὐτόχειρας ἐξαιτησάντων οὔτε τινὰ ἐκδώσειν ἔφη καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἴσσαν ἔστειλε στράτευμα. εἶτα αὖθις δείσασα Δημήτριόν τινα πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔπεμψεν, ὡς ἑτοίμη πρὸς πᾶν ὑπακοῦσαι αὐτῶν. καὶ σπονδαὶ πρὸς τὸν πεμφθέντα ἐγένοντο, τὴν Κέρκυραν αὐτοῖς παρασχόμενον. τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν νῆσον περαιωθέντων ἀνεθάρσησεν αὖθις, οἷα γυνὴ κούφην ἔχουσα γνώμην καὶ εὐμετάβολον, καὶ πρὸς Ἐπίδαμνον καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν ἐξέπεμψε στρατιάν. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τάς πόλεις τε ῥυσαμένων καὶ πλοῖα αὐτῆς κατασχόντων μετὰ χρη-

[1] καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν added by Bk. from Zonaras.

others, declaring that they had been slain by some robbers. When the Romans for this reason stopped their campaign and demanded the surrender of the murderers, she once more showed her contempt, because the danger was not yet at her doors, and declaring she would not give up anybody, despatched an army against Issa. But when she B.C. 229 learned that the consuls were at hand, she grew terrified again, abated her high spirit, and became ready to heed them in everything whatsoever. She had not yet, however, been brought fully to her senses, for when the consuls had crossed over to Corcyra, she felt imbued with new courage, revolted and despatched an army against Epidamnus and Apollonia. But after the Romans had rescued the cities and had captured ships of hers laden with

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those dead had been slain by robbers. But when the Romans demanded the surrender of the murderers, she declared she would not give up anybody, and dispatched an army against Issa. Then she again B.C. 229 grew fearful and sent a certain Demetrius to the consuls, assuring them of her readiness to heed them in everything. And a truce was made with this emissary, upon his agreeing to give them Corcyra. Yet woman-like, such was her vain and fickle disposition that when the consuls had crossed over to the island, she became emboldened again, and sent out an army to Epidamnus and Apollonia. After the Romans had rescued these cities, seized

λαμβανόντων, ἐμέλλησεν αὖθις πειθαρχῆσαί
7 σφισιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναβάντες ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάσσης κακῶς περὶ τὸν Ἀτύριον λόφον ἀπήλλαξαν, ἐπέσχεν ἐλπίσασα αὐτούς (ἤδη γὰρ καὶ χειμὼν ἦν) ἀπαναστήσεσθαι. αἰσθομένη δὲ τὸν Ἀλβῖνον κατὰ χώραν μένειν, καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἔκ τε τῆς ἐμπληξίας ἐκείνης καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων φόβου μεθεστηκότα καί τινας ἄλλους αὐτομολῆσαι πεπεικότα, παντελῶς κατέδεισε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφῆκεν.—U[R] 6 (p. 378).

50 Ὅτι χρησμός τις τῆς Σιβύλλης τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐδειμάτου,[1] φυλάξασθαι τοὺς Γαλάτας δεῖν κελεύων ὅταν κεραυνὸς ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον πλησίον Ἀπολλωνίου κατασκήψῃ.—M. 128 (p. 185).

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μάτων ἐκ Πελοποννήσου προσπλέοντα, καὶ τὰ χωρία πορθησάντων τὰ πάραλα, καὶ τοῦ Δημητρίου διὰ τὴν ἐμπληξίαν ἐκείνης πρὸς Ῥωμαίους μεθεστηκότος καὶ ἄλλους αὐτομολῆσαι πεπεικότος, κατέδεισε καὶ ἀπέσχετο τῆς ἀρχῆς. καὶ τὴν μὲν ὁ Δημήτριος ὡς τῷ παιδὶ ἐπιτροπεύσων εἰλήφει, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ ταῦτα παρὰ Κορινθίων ἐπῃνέθησαν, καὶ τοῦ Ἰσθμικοῦ μετέσχον ἀγῶνος, καὶ στάδιον ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ Πλαῦτος ἐνίκησε. καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους δὲ φιλίαν ἐπεποιήκεσαν καὶ τῆς πολιτείας σφῶν τῶν τε μυστηρίων μετέσχον.

Τὸ δ' Ἰλλυρικὸν ὄνομα πάλαι μὲν ἐν ἄλλοις ἐπεκέκλητο, ὕστερον δὲ ἐς τὴν ἄνω μεταβέβηκεν

[1] ἐδειμάτου St., ἐδειμᾶτο Ms.

treasure, she was again on the point of yielding obedience. Meanwhile they mounted to a high place above the sea, and were defeated near the Atyrian hill; and she now waited, hoping for their withdrawal, in view of the fact that it was already winter. But on perceiving that Albinus remained B.C. 228 where he was and that Demetrius, as a result of her caprice, as well as from fear of the Romans, had transferred his allegiance, besides persuading some others to desert, she became utterly terrified and gave up her power.

The Romans were alarmed over an oracle of the Sibyl which told them that they must beware of the Gauls when a thunderbolt should fall upon the Capitol near the temple of Apollo.

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ships of hers which were sailing home from the Peloponnesus laden with treasure, and devastated the coast regions, and after Demetrius as a result of her caprice had transferred his allegiance to the Romans and also persuaded some others to desert, she became utterly terrified and abdicated her power. This Demetrius received in trust for the boy. The B.C. 228 Romans were thanked by the Corinthians for their action, and took part in the Isthmian games, in which Plautus won the stadium race. Moreover they formed a friendship with the Athenians and were admitted by them to citizenship and to the Mysteries.

The name Illyricum was anciently applied to different regions, but later it was transferred to the

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ἤπειρον καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν Μακεδονίαν τήν τε Θρᾴκην τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Αἵμου καὶ τὴν πρὸς τῇ Ῥοδόπῃ, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τούτων τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ τῶν Ἄλπεων τοῦ τε Αἴνου ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἴστρου μέχρι τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου, καί πῃ καὶ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ἴστρου νέμεται.

Λογίου δέ ποτε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐλθόντος καὶ Ἕλληνας καὶ Γαλάτας τὸ ἄστυ καταλήψεσθαι, Γαλάται δύο καὶ Ἕλληνες ἕτεροι ἔκ τε τοῦ ἄρρενος καὶ τοῦ θήλεος γένους ζῶντες ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κατωρύγησαν, ἵν' οὕτως ἐπιτελὲς τὸ πεπρωμένον γενέσθαι δοκῇ, καί τι κατέχειν τῆς πόλεως κατορωρυγμένοι νομίζωνται.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Σαρδόνιοι ἐν δεινῷ ποιούμενοι ὅτι στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀεὶ καθειστήκει αὐτοῖς, ἐπανέστησαν· αὖθις δὲ ἐδουλώθησαν.

20. Ἰνσοῦβροι δέ, Γαλατικὸν γένος, συμμάχους ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἄλπεις ὁμοφύλων προσειληφότες, ὅπλα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπήνεγκαν· διὸ καὶ αὐτοὶ ηὐτρεπίζοντο. λῃσαμένων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων τινά, τελευταῖον χειμῶνος μεγάλου νυκτὸς συμβάντος ὑπετόπησαν τὸ θεῖον ἐναντιοῦσθαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἠθύμησαν, καὶ καταπτήξαντες φυγῇ

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 603.

Ἐπὶ Φαβίου γὰρ Μαξίμου Βεροκόσσου ἤτοι ἀκροχορδονώδους Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦτο ἐποίησαν, Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ Γαλατικὸν ἀνδρόγυνον κρύψαντες ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἐκ χρησμοῦ τινὸς δειματωθέντες, λέγοντος Ἕλληνα καὶ Γαλάτην καταλήψεσθαι τὸ ἄστυ.

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interior of the mainland and to the region above Macedonia and the part of Thrace lying this side of Haemus and next to Rhodope. It lies between these mountains and the Alps, also between the river Aenus and the Ister, extending as far as the Euxine Sea ; indeed, at some points it extends even beyond the Ister.

Inasmuch as an oracle had once come to the Romans that Greeks and Gauls should occupy the city, two Gauls and likewise two Greeks, male and female, were buried alive in the Forum, in order that in this way destiny might seem to have fulfilled itself, and these foreigners, thus buried there, might be regarded as possessing a part of the city.

After this the Sardinians, indignant because a Roman praetor was continually set over them, began an uprising ; but they were again enslaved.

20. The Insubres, a Gallic tribe, after securing allies B.C. 225
from among their kinsmen beyond the Alps, turned their arms against the Romans, and the latter were accordingly making preparations themselves. The barbarians plundered some towns, but at last a great storm occurred in the night, and they suspected that Heaven was against them. Consequently they lost heart, and falling into a panic,

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 603.

In the time of Fabius Maximus Verrucossus (*i.e.* "Warty") the Romans did this, after burying in the middle of the Forum a Greek and a Gallic couple, man and woman in each case ; for they were alarmed by a certain oracle which declared that Greek and Gaul should occupy the city.

2 Ὅτι οἱ Γαλάται τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἰδόντες τὰ ἐπιτηδειότατα τῶν χωρῶν προκατειληφότας ἠθύμησαν· πάντες μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἐπιτυχόντες ὧν ἂν ὀριγνηθῶσι πρῶτον ἑτοιμότερον πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ χωροῦσιν, καὶ διαμαρτόντες ἐς πάντα ἀπαμβλύνονται, τὸ δὲ δὴ Γαλατικὸν πλέον τι ἢ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὀξύτατα μὲν ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμήσωσιν ἀντιλαμβάνονται καὶ ἐρρωμενέστατα τῶν προχωρούντων αὐτοῖς ἀντέχονται, ἂν δ' ἄρα τι καὶ βραχύτατον προσκρούσωσιν,[1] οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ ἐλπίζουσι, πρόχειροι μὲν ὑπ' ἀνοίας πᾶν ὃ βούλονται προσδοκῆσαι, πρόχειροι δὲ ὑπὸ θυμοῦ πᾶν ὃ ἂν ἐγχειρίσωνται ἐπεξελθεῖν ὄντες.
3 καὶ ὀργῇ ἀκράτῳ καὶ ὁρμῇ ἀπλήστῳ[2] χρῶνται, καὶ δι' αὐτὰ οὔτε τι διαρκὲς ἐν αὐταῖς ἔχουσιν (ἀδύνατον γάρ ἐστιν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ προπετῶς θρασυνόμενον ἀνταρκέσαι), κἂν ἅπαξ ἀλλοιωθῶσιν, οὔτ' ἀναλαβεῖν ἑαυτοὺς ἄλλως τε καὶ δέους τινὸς προσγενομένου δύνανται, καὶ ἐς ἀντίπαλον ἔκπληξιν τῆς πρόσθεν ἀδεοῦς τόλμης καθίστανται· δι' ὀλίγου γὰρ πρὸς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ὀξυρρόπως, ἅτε μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἐχέγγυον ἐς μηδέτερον αὐτῶν παρεχόμενοι, φέρονται.—M. 129 (p. 185).

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τὴν σωτηρίαν πορίσασθαι ἐπεχείρησαν. καὶ ὁ Ῥηγοῦλος αὐτοὺς κατεδίωξε, καὶ τοῖς ὀπισθοφυλακοῦσι προσμίξας ἡττήθη τε καὶ ἀπέθανεν·

[1] προσκρούσωσιν Bk., ἐπισυγκρούσωσιν Ms.
[2] ἀκράτῳ—ἀπλήστῳ Bk., ἀκράτως—ἀπλήστως Ms.

The Gauls became dejected on seeing that the Romans had already seized the most favourable positions. For all men, if they obtain the object of their first aim, proceed more readily toward their subsequent goals, and likewise if they fail of it, lose interest in everything else. Those of the Gallic race, however, rather more than the rest of mankind, seize very eagerly upon what they desire, and cling most tenaciously to their successes, but if they meet with the slightest obstacle, have no hope at all left for the future. In their folly they are ready to expect whatsoever they wish, and in their ardour are ready to carry out whatsoever they undertake. They are men of ungoverned passion and uncontrolled impulse, and for that reason they have in these qualities no element of endurance, since it is impossible for reckless audacity to prevail for any time; and if once they suffer a setback, they are unable, especially if any fear also be present, to recover themselves, and are plunged into a state of panic corresponding to their previous fearless daring. In brief time they rush abruptly to the very opposite extremes, since they can furnish no sound motive based on reason for either course. B.C. 225

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attempted to find safety in flight. Regulus pursued them and brought on an engagement with the rearguard in which he was defeated and lost his life.

4 Ὅτι Αἰμίλιος τοὺς Ἰνσούμβρους νικήσας τὰ ἐπινίκια ἤγαγε, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἁλόντων ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὡπλισμένους ἀνεκόμισεν ἐπισκώπτων σφίσιν, ὅτι ὀμωμοκότας αὐτοὺς ᾔσθετο μὴ πρότερον τοὺς θώρακας ἀποδύσεσθαι πρὶν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀναβῆναι.—M. 130 (p. 186).

51 Ὅτι εἴ τι τῶν ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι νομιζομένων καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἡμαρτήθη, πάντως που καὶ

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Αἰμίλιος δὲ λόφον τινὰ κατασχὼν ἡσύχαζεν. ἀντικατασχόντων δὲ καὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἕτερον, ἐπί τινας μὲν ἡμέρας ἠρέμουν, ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν ὀργῇ τοῦ γεγονότος, αὐχήματι δὲ τῆς νίκης οἱ βάρβαροι, καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων συνέβαλον. καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἰσορρόπως ἐμάχοντο, τέλος δ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῷ ἱππικῷ περισχόντες αὐτοὺς κατέκοψαν, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν εἷλον καὶ τὰ λάφυρα ἐκομίσαντο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς τῶν Βοουίων ὁ Αἰμίλιος ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἤγαγε, τούς τε πρώτους τῶν ἁλόντων ὡπλισμένους ἐπὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνεκόμισεν, ἐπισκώπτων αὐτοῖς ὡς ὀμωμοκόσι μὴ πρότερον τοὺς θώρακας ἀποδύσασθαι πρὶν ἀνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τήν τε τῶν Βοουίων ἅπασαν προσεκτήσαντο καὶ τὸν Ἠριδανὸν τότε πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰνσούβρους διέβησαν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπόρθουν.

Τεράτων δ' ἐν τούτῳ γενομένων ἐς μέγα δέος οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατέστησαν· ποταμός τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Πικηνῷ αἱματώδης ἐρρύη κἀν τῇ Τυρσηνίδι καίε-

Aemilius on conquering the Insubres celebrated a triumph, and in it conveyed the foremost captives clad in armour up to the Capitol, making jests at their expense because he had heard that they had sworn not to remove their breastplates until they had mounted to the Capitol.

If any of the details, even the smallest, that were customary in festivals had been omitted, the cere-

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Aemilius occupied a hill and remained quiet. The Gauls in turn occupied another hill, and for several days both sides were inactive; then the Romans, through anger at what had taken place, and the barbarians, from arrogance born of their victory, charged down from the heights and came to blows. For a long time the battle was evenly fought, but finally the Romans surrounded the others with their cavalry, cut them down, seized their camp, and recovered the spoils. After this Aemilius wrought havoc among the possessions of the Boii and celebrated a triumph, in which he conveyed the foremost captives clad in armour up to the Capitol, making jests at their expense for having sworn not to remove their breastplates until they had ascended to the Capitol. The Romans now not only gained the entire territory of the Boii, but also crossed the Po for the first time against the Insubres, whose country they proceeded to ravage.

Meanwhile portents had occurred which threw the people of Rome into great fear. A river in Picenum ran the colour of blood, in Etruria a good part of the B.C. 223

δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἐπὶ πλεῖόν τε ἔτι, μέχρι περ καὶ ἀμέμπτως πάντα γεγονέναι σφίσιν ἔδοξεν, μιᾷ γέ τινι ἡμέρᾳ ἀνεωρτάζετο.—M. 131 (p. 186).

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σθαι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πολὺ ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀριμίνῳ φῶς νύκτωρ ἡμέρᾳ προσεοικὸς ἔλαμψε, καὶ πολλαχόθι τῆς Ἰταλίας τρεῖς σελῆναι νυκτὸς ἐφαντάσθησαν, κἀν τῇ ἀγορᾷ γὺψ ἐφ' ἡμέρας πλείονας ἐνιδρύθη. διά τε γοῦν τὰ τέρατα ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι τινὲς παρανόμως ἔλεγον τοὺς ὑπάτους αἱρεθῆναι, μετεπέμψαντο αὐτούς. δεξάμενοι δὲ τὰ γράμματα οἱ ὕπατοι οὐκ εὐθὺς αὐτὰ ἀνέγνων, ἄρτι πρὸς πόλεμον καθιστάμενοι, ἀλλὰ προσυμβαλόντες ἐκράτησαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ἀναγνωσθείσης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὁ μὲν Φούριος ἑτοίμως ἐπείθετο, ὁ δέ γε Φλαμίνιος ἐπαιρόμενος τῇ νίκῃ τήν τε αἵρεσιν αὐτῶν ἀπεδείκνυ δι' αὐτῆς ὀρθῶς ἔχουσαν, καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν φθόνον ἐνέκειτο καὶ τοῦ θείου τοὺς δυνατοὺς καταψεύδεσθαι. οὔτ' οὖν ἀπαναστῆναι πρὶν τὸ πᾶν καταστήσασθαι ἤθελε, καὶ διδάξειν καὶ τοὺς οἴκοι ἔφη μήτ' ὄρνισι μήτ' ἄλλῳ δή τινι τοιούτῳ προσέχοντας ἀπατᾶσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν κατὰ χώραν μένειν ἤθελε καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα κατέχειν ἐπειρᾶτο, Φούριος δ' οὐκ ἐπείθετο. τῶν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Φλαμινίου μελλόντων καταλειφθήσεσθαι φοβηθέντων μὴ μονωθέντες πάθωσί τι παρὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, καὶ δεηθέντων ἡμέρας τινὰς προσμεῖναι, ἐπείσθη, οὐ μέντοι καὶ

monies were always performed a second or a third time, and even oftener still, so far as was possible in one day, until everything seemed to have been done faultlessly.

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heavens seemed to be on fire, at Ariminum a light like the day blazed out at night, in many portions of Italy three moons became visible in the night time, and in the Forum a vulture perched for several days. On account of these portents and also because some declared that the consuls had been illegally chosen, they summoned them home. The consuls received the letter, but did not open it immediately, since they were just on the point of beginning the war; instead, they joined battle first and came out victorious. After the battle the letter was read, and Furius was for obeying promptly; but Flaminius was elated over the victory and kept pointing out that it showed their election to have been proper, and he insisted that in their jealousy of him the nobles were even misrepresenting the will of the gods. Consequently he refused to depart until he had settled the whole business in hand, and he said he would teach the people at home, too, not to be deceived by relying on birds or any thing of the sort. So he was anxious to remain where he was, and strove to detain his colleague, but Furius would not heed him. However, since the men who were going to be left behind with Flaminius feared that if left by themselves they might suffer some disaster at the hands of their opponents and begged him to remain for a few days longer, he yielded to their entreaties, but

ἔργου ἥψατο. Φλαμίνιος δὲ περινοστῶν τὴν χώραν ἔτεμνε καὶ ἐρύματά τινα κατεστρέψατο, τά τε λάφυρα πάντα τοῖς στρατιώταις, θεραπεύων αὐτούς, ἐχαρίσατο. ὀψὲ δ' οἴκαδε ἐπανελθόντες ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς γερουσίας αἰτίαν τῆς ἀπειθείας ἔσχον (διὰ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Φλαμίνιον ὀργὴν ἠτίμασαν καὶ τὸν Φούριον), τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἀντιφιλονεικῆσαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Φλαμινίου ἐψηφίσαντο τὰ νικητήρια. καὶ ἀγαγόντες αὐτὰ ἐξέστησαν τῆς ἀρχῆς.

Ἕτεροι δὲ ὕπατοι Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος καὶ Γναῖος Σκιπίων ἀνθαιρεθέντες ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰνσούβρους· εἰρήνην γὰρ αὐτοῖς αἰτήσασιν οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ ἄμφω μὲν πρῶτον πολεμοῦντες τὰ πλείω ἐκράτουν, ἔπειτα τὴν συμμαχίδα λεηλατουμένην μαθόντες διῃρέθησαν. καὶ Μάρκελλος μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ληιζομένους τὴν σύμμαχον διὰ ταχέων ἐλθὼν οὐ κατέλαβε σφᾶς ἐκεῖ, φεύγοντας δ' ἐπεδίωξε καὶ ὑποστάντας ἐνίκησε, Σκιπίων δὲ κατὰ χώραν μείνας Ἀκέρας ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὰς ὁρμητήριον τοῦ πολέμου πεποίηκεν, οὔσας ἐπικαίρους καὶ εὐερκεῖς. κἀντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι τό τε Μεδιόλανον καὶ κωμόπολιν ἑτέραν ἐχειρώσαντο. ἁλόντων δὲ τούτων καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰνσοῦβροι ὡμολόγησαν αὐτοῖς, χρήματα καὶ μέρος τῆς γῆς δόντες.

Εἶτα Πούπλιός τε Κορνήλιος καὶ Μάρκος Μινούκιος ἐπ' Ἴστρου ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐθνῶν τὰ μὲν πολέμῳ, τὰ δὲ ὁμολογίαις ὑπέταξαν. Λούκιος δὲ Οὐετούριος καὶ Γάιος Λουτάτιος ἦλθον μέχρι τῶν Ἄλπεων, ἄνευ δὲ μάχης

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did not take any active part. Flaminius travelled about laying waste the country, reduced a few forts, and bestowed all the spoils upon the soldiers as a means of winning their favour. At length the leaders returned home and were charged by the senate with disobedience; for Furius also incurred disgrace because of the anger felt against Flaminius. But the populace, in its zeal for Flaminius, opposed the senate and voted them a triumph. After celebrating this the consuls laid down their office.

Other consuls, Claudius Marcellus and Gnaeus Scipio, chosen in their stead, made an expedition against the Insubres; for the Romans had not granted this people's request for peace. At first the consuls carried on the war together, and were in most cases victorious; but soon, learning that the allied territory was being plundered, they separated their forces. Marcellus made a quick march against those plundering the land of the allies, but found them no longer there; he then pursued them as they fled, and when they made a stand, overcame them. Scipio remained where he was and proceeded to besiege Acerrae; upon taking it he made it a base for the war, since it was favourably placed and well walled. And setting out from that point, they subdued Mediolanum and another town. After these had been captured the rest of the Insubres also made terms with them, giving them money and a portion of the land. B.C. 222

Later Publius Cornelius and Marcus Minucius made an expedition in the direction of the Ister and subdued many of the nations there, some by war and some by capitulation. Lucius Veturius and Gaius Lutatius went as far as the Alps, and without any B.C. 221 B.C. 220

53 Ὅτι Δημήτριος ἔκ τε τῆς τοῦ Πίννου ἐπιτροπεύσεως καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Τριτεύταν τῆς Τεύτας ἀποθανούσης γῆμαι ἐπαρθείς, τοῖς τε ἐπιχωρίοις ἐπαχθὴς ἦν καὶ τὰ τῶν πλησιοίκων ἐκακούργει. καὶ ἐδόκει γὰρ τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων φιλίᾳ ἀποχρώμενος ἀδικεῖν αὐτούς, αἰσθόμενοι τοῦτο μετεπέμψαντο αὐτόν. ὡς δὲ οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς συμμαχίδος σφῶν ἥπτετο, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ἴσσῃ ὄντα.—V. 30 (p. 593).

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πολλοὺς ᾠκειώσαντο. ὁ μέντοι τῶν Σαρδιαίων ἄρχων Δημήτριος, ὡς ἄνω που εἴρηται, τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐπαχθὴς ἦν καὶ τὰ τῶν πλησιοίκων ἐκακούργει καὶ ἐδόκει τῇ Ῥωμαίων φιλίᾳ ἀποχρώμενος ἀδικεῖν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τοῦτο οἱ ὕπατοι Αἰμίλιος Παῦλος καὶ Μάρκος Λιούιος μετεπέμψαντο αὐτόν. ὡς δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς συμμαχίδος σφῶν ἥπτετο, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ἴσσῃ ὄντα. καὶ προμαθόντες ὅτι ὑφώρμει που τῶν κατάρσεων, μέρος τῶν νεῶν εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς νήσου προσμῖξαι ἔπεμψαν. κἀκ τούτου τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνους ὡς καὶ μόνους ὄντας τραπομένων, αὐτοὶ κατὰ σχολὴν προσπλεύσαντες ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ τε ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο καὶ προσπεσόντας σφίσιν αὐθημερὸν τοὺς

Demetrius, encouraged by his position as guardian of Pinnes and by the fact that he had married the latter's mother Triteuta after Teuta's death, was not only proving oppressive to the natives, but was also ravaging the territory of the neighbouring tribes. So as soon as they [the consuls] heard of this, they summoned him before them, since it appeared that it was by abusing the friendship of the Romans that he was able to wrong those peoples. When he paid no heed, but actually proceeded to assail their allies, they made a campaign against him in Issa. B.C. 219

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fighting won over many people. But the ruler of the Ardiaeans, Demetrius, as has been stated above, was not only proving oppressive to the natives, but was also ravaging the territory of the neighbouring tribes; and it appeared that it was by abusing the friendship of the Romans that he was able to wrong them. As soon as the consuls, B.C. 219 Aemilius Paulus and Marcus Livius, heard of this, they summoned him before them. When he paid no heed, but actually proceeded to assail their allies, they made a campaign against him in Issa. And having learned in advance that he was lying secretly at anchor somewhere in the vicinity of the landing-places, they sent a part of their ships to the other side of the island to bring on an engagement. When the Illyrians, accordingly, turned against these, thinking them to be alone, the main force sailed in at leisure, and after pitching camp in a suitable place,

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ἐπιχωρίους ὀργῇ τῆς ἀπάτης ἀπεώσαντο. τοῦ δὲ Δημητρίου ἐς Φάρον ἑτέραν νῆσον διαφυγόντος, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνην ἔπλευσαν καὶ τῶν ἀντικαταστάντων ἐκράτησαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ προδοσίας εἷλον, τοῦ Δημητρίου διαδράντος. ὃς τότε μὲν εἰς Μακεδονίαν μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῆς ἐλθὼν ὑπ' ἐκείνου μὲν οὐκ ἐξεδόθη, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐπανελθὼν συνελήφθη ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἐδικαιώθη.

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repulsed the natives, who, in their anger at the deception, had promptly attacked them. Demetrius made his escape to Pharos, another island, but they sailed to that, overcame resistance, and captured the city by betrayal, though only after Demetrius had fled. This time he reached Macedonia with large sums of money, and went to Philip, the king of the country. He was not surrendered by him, but on returning to Illyria was arrested by the Romans and put to death.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XIII

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21. Τῷ δ' ἐχομένῳ ἔτει περιφανῶς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐξεπολεμώθησαν, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος τῷ μὲν χρόνῳ πολὺ ἐλάσσων τοῦ προτέρου συμβέβηκε, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις τοῖς τε παθήμασι καὶ μείζων καὶ χαλεπώτερος. ἐπῆρε δὲ τοῦτον μάλιστα ὁ Ἀννίβας στραταρχῶν τῶν Καρχηδονίων. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας οὗτος παῖς τοῦ Ἀμίλκου τοῦ Βαρχίδου ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐκ παίδων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἠσκήθη. πάντας γὰρ τοὺς υἱεῖς ὁ Ἀμίλκας ὥσπερ τινὰς σκύμνους ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τρέφειν ἔλεγεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ πολὺ τῇ φύσει προφέροντα ὁρῶν καὶ ὥρκωσε πολεμήσειν αὐτοῖς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐξεδίδασκε, πεντεκαιδεκαέτη ὄντα· ὅθεν οὐκ ἠδυνήθη θανόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν στρατηγίαν διαδέξασθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐκέτι ἐμέλλησεν, ἓξ τότε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ τό τε στράτευμα ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ αὐτίκα προκατέλαβε καὶ στρατηγὸς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀναδειχθεὶς διῳκήσατο καὶ παρὰ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν βεβαιωθῆναι αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα προφάσεως εὐπρεποῦς ἐδεῖτο εἰς τὴν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὁρμήν, καὶ ταύτην ἐποιήσατο τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ Ζακυνθίους.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XIII

Zonaras 8, 21.

21. In the following year the Romans became openly hostile to the Carthaginians, and this war, though of far shorter duration than the previous one, proved to be both greater and severer in its exploits and its disasters. It was brought on chiefly by Hannibal, the general of the Carthaginians. This Hannibal was a son of Hamilcar Barca, and from his earliest boyhood had been trained to fight against the Romans. For Hamilcar said he was rearing all his sons like so many whelps to fight against them, and when he saw that this one had by far the best nature, he made him take an oath that he would wage war upon them; accordingly he was engaged in giving him a careful training, particularly in warfare, at the time of his own death, when the boy was fifteen years of age. Because of his youth Hannibal was unable to succeed then to the generalship; upon the death of Hasdrubal, however, he delayed no longer, being now twenty-six years of age, but at once took possession of the army in Spain, and after being acclaimed general by the soldiers, brought it about that the command was confirmed to him also by those in authority at home. After accomplishing this he required a plausible excuse for his enterprise against the Romans, and this he found in the Saguntines of Spain. These people, B.C. 218

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οὗτοι γὰρ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ποταμοῦ οἰκοῦντες τοῦ Ἴβηρος, ἄνω τῆς θαλάσσης βραχύ, τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσέκειντο, κἀκεῖνοι καὶ ἐτίμων αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους συνθήκαις ἐξαιρέτους ἐπεποιήκεσαν. διὰ ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ Ἀννίβας πόλεμον ἤρατο πρὸς αὐτούς, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἢ ἐπικουρήσουσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς Ζακυνθίοις ἢ καί τι παθοῦσι τιμωρήσουσι. διά τε οὖν ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι μέγαν πλοῦτον κεκτῆσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐγίνωσκεν, οὗ καὶ μάλιστα ἔχρῃζε, καὶ δι' ἕτερ' ἄττα[1] κατὰ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῷ συμβαλλόμενα τοῖς Ζακυνθίοις ἐπέθετο.

Ἡ δ' Ἰβηρία, ἐν ᾗ οἱ Ζακύνθιοι οἰκοῦσι, καὶ ἡ προσεχὴς αὐτῇ πᾶσα ἔν τε τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πρὸς δυσμάς ἐστι, καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἔσω θάλασσαν καὶ παρὰ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στήλας τόν τε Ὠκεανὸν αὐτὸν προήκει, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν ἤπειρον τὴν ἄνω διὰ πλείστου μέχρι τοῦ Πυρηναίου νέμεται. τὸ γὰρ ὄρος τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς πάλαι μὲν Βεβρύκων ὕστερον δὲ Ναρβωνησίων ἀρξάμενον ἐς τὴν ἔξω τὴν μεγάλην διατείνει, πολλὰ μὲν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ σύμμικτα ἔθνη ἔχον, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀπὸ τῆς προσοίκου Γαλατίας ἀφορίζον. οὔτε δ' ὁμόφωνοι ἦσαν οὔτε κοινῇ ἐπολιτεύοντο. ὅθεν οὐδὲ εἰς ἓν ὄνομα ἐτέλουν· οἱ

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 516.

Δίων δὲ Κοκκειανὸς τοὺς Ναρβωνησίους Βέβρυκας λέγει, γράφων οὕτω· "τῶν πάλαι μὲν Βεβρύκων νῦν δὲ Ναρβωνησίων ἐστὶ τὸ Πυρήναιον ὄρος. τὸ δὲ ὄρος τοῦτο χωρίζει Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν."

[1] ἕτερ' ἄττα Cary (cf. Zon. 9, 7—p. 192 inf.), ἕτερα αἴτια Mss.

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dwelling not far from the river Iberus, and a short distance from the sea, were dependents of the Romans, who held them in honour, and in the treaty with the Carthaginians had made a special exception of them. Hence, for this reason Hannibal began war with them, knowing that the Romans would either assist the Saguntines or avenge them if they suffered injury. From this motive, then, as well as because he knew that they possessed great wealth, which he particularly needed, and from various other considerations that promised him advantages against the Romans, he made an attack upon the Saguntines.

Spain, in which the Saguntines dwell, and all the adjoining land is in the western part of Europe. It extends for a great distance along the inner sea, past the Pillars of Hercules, and along the Ocean itself; furthermore, it includes the regions inland for a very great distance, even to the Pyrenees. This range, beginning at the sea called anciently the sea of the Bebryces, but later the sea of the Narbonenses, reaches to the great outer sea, and contains many diverse nationalities; it also separates the whole of Spain from the neighbouring land of Gaul. The tribes were neither of one speech, nor did they have a common government. As a result, they were not known by one name: the Romans

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 516.

Dio Cocceianus calls the Narbonenses Bebryces, writing thus: "To those who were of old Bebryces, but now Narbonenses, belongs the Pyrenees range. This range is the boundary between Spain and Gaul."

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μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι Ἱσπανούς, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες Ἴβηρας ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἴβηρος αὐτοὺς ἐπεκάλεσαν.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ζακύνθιοι οὗτοι ἐπολιορκοῦντο, καὶ ἔπεμψαν πρὸς τοὺς περιοίκους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπικουρίας δεόμενοι. ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐκώλυσεν, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πρέσβεις πρὸς ἐκεῖνον πέμψαντες μὴ πελάζειν τοῖς Ζακυνθίοις ἐκέλευον, καὶ εἰ μὴ πείθοιτο, ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα πλεῦσαι εὐθὺς καὶ κατηγορῆσαι αὐτοῦ ἐπηπείλησαν. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐκ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πέμψας τινὰς ὡς εὔνοιαν τηροῦντας τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἤδη πλησίον οὖσι παρεσκεύασε λέγειν αὐτοῖς μὴ παρεῖναι τὸν στρατηγόν, πόρρω που ἐς ἄγνωστα χωρία ἀποδημήσαντα. καὶ παρῄνουν ἀπαλλαγῆναι ὡς τάχιστα, πρὶν καταγγελθεῖεν ὡς πάρεισιν, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀναρχίαν, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μὴ παρόντος, ἀπόλωνται. οἱ μὲν οὖν πιστεύσαντες αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἀπῄεσαν· γενομένης δὲ ἐκκλησίας οἱ μὲν τῶν Καρχηδονίων εἰρήνην ἄγειν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συνεβούλευον, οἱ δὲ τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ προσκείμενοι τοὺς μὲν Ζακυνθίους ἀδικεῖν, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους τὰ μηδὲν σφίσι προσήκοντα πολυπραγμονεῖν ἔλεγον. καὶ τέλος ἐπεκράτησαν οἱ πολεμῆσαι σφᾶς ἀναπείθοντες.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Ἀννίβας σπουδῇ τὰς προσβολὰς τῆς τειχομαχίας ἐποιεῖτο. πολλῶν δὲ πιπτόντων καὶ πλειόνων τιτρωσκομένων ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καί ποτε τῶν Καρχηδονίων κατασεισάντων τι τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ κατὰ τὸ ῥῆγμα εἰσελθεῖν τολμησάντων, ἐπεξέδραμον οἱ Ζακύνθιοι καὶ ἀπεσόβησαν σφᾶς· ὅθεν αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπερρώσθησαν, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ἐνέδοσαν ἀθυμήσαντες. οὐκ ἀπαν-

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called them Spaniards, but the Greeks Iberians, from the river Iberus.

These Saguntines, then, upon being besieged, sent to their neighbours and to the Romans, asking for aid. But Hannibal checked any local movement, while the Romans sent ambassadors to him commanding him not to come near the Saguntines, and threatening, in case he should not obey, to sail to Carthage at once and lay accusation against him. When the envoys were now close at hand, Hannibal sent some of the natives who were to pretend that they were kindly disposed to them and who were instructed to say that the general was not there, but had gone some distance away into parts unknown; and they advised the Romans to depart as quickly as possible, before their presence should be reported, lest in the disorder prevailing because of the absence of the general they should lose their lives. The envoys, accordingly, believed them and set off for Carthage. And when an assembly had been called, some of the Carthaginians counselled maintaining peace with the Romans, but the party attached to Hannibal affirmed that the Saguntines were guilty of wrongdoing, and that the Romans were meddling with what did not concern them. Finally those who urged them to make war won the day.

Meanwhile Hannibal in the course of the siege was conducting vigorous assaults, in which many of his men fell and many more were wounded. One day the Carthaginians succeeded in battering down a portion of the wall, and had been daring enough to enter through the breach, when the Saguntines made a sortie and drove them away. As a result the besieged were strengthened, and the Carthaginians gave

52 Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἤκμαζον καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμονοίᾳ ἀκριβῶς ἐχρῶντο, ὥσθ' ἅπερ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐκ μὲν ἀκράτου εὐπραγίας ἐς θάρσος, ἐκ δὲ ἰσχυροῦ δέους ἐς ἐπιείκειαν

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έστησαν δὲ πρὶν τὴν πόλιν ἑλεῖν, καίτοι ἐπ' ὄγδοον μῆνα τῆς πολιορκίας παραταθείσης· ἐν οἷς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ συνηνέχθη καὶ ἄτοπα καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας δεινῶς ἐτρώθη. ἥλω δὲ οὕτως. μηχάνημα τῷ τείχει προσήγαγον πολύ τε αὐτοῦ ὑπεραῖρον καὶ ὁπλίτας τοὺς μὲν ἐμφανεῖς ἔχον, τοὺς δὲ λανθάνοντας. τῶν οὖν Ζακυνθίων τοῖς ὁρωμένοις ὡς μόνοις οὖσι μαχομένων ἐρρωμενέστερον, οἱ κεκρυμμένοι τὸ τεῖχος ὑπορύξαντες εἰσεβιάσαντο καὶ ἔνδον ἐγένοντο. τῷ γοῦν παραδόξῳ οἱ Ζακύνθιοι ἐκπλαγέντες εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέδραμον, καὶ εἰς λόγους ἦλθον, εἴ πως ἐπιεικεῖ τινι ὁμολογίᾳ περισωθεῖεν. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας προΐσχετο μέτριον οὐδέ τις αὐτοῖς ὠφέλεια πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγίνετο, ἐπισχεθῆναι τὰς προσβολὰς ἐξητήσαντο, ὥς τι περὶ τῶν κατὰ σφᾶς βουλευσόμενοι· κἀν τούτῳ τὰ τιμιώτατα συμφορήσαντες τῶν χρημάτων ἐς πῦρ ἐνέβαλον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπόμαχοι διεχειρίσαντο ἑαυτούς, οἱ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ἀθρόοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ὡρμήκεσαν καὶ προθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενοι κατεκόπησαν.

22. Καὶ δι' αὐτοὺς οἵ τε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐπολέμησαν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀννίβας καὶ συμμά-

BOOK XIII

The Romans were at the height of their military power and enjoyed absolute harmony among themselves. Thus, unlike most people, who are led by unalloyed good fortune to audacity, but by

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way to discouragement. Yet they did not leave the city till they had captured it, though the siege dragged on to the eighth month. Many untoward incidents happened during that time, one of which was the dangerous wounding of Hannibal. The place was taken in the following manner. They brought to bear against the wall an engine much higher than the fortifications, and carrying heavy-armed soldiers, some visible, some concealed. While the Saguntines, therefore, were vigorously fighting against the men they saw, believing them to be the only ones, those concealed from view dug through the wall from below and found their way inside. The Saguntines, overwhelmed by the unexpectedness of the event, ran up to the citadel and held a conference, to see whether by any reasonable concessions they might be saved. But as Hannibal held out no moderate terms and no assistance came to them from the Romans, they begged for a cessation of the assaults, on the plea that they wished to deliberate a little about their present situation. During this respite they gathered together the most highly prized of their treasures and cast them into the flames; then such as were incapable of fighting took their own lives, and those who were in their prime advanced in a body against their opponents, and fighting zealously, were cut down.

22. On their account the Romans and the Carthaginians went to war; for Hannibal, after adding

φέρει, ταῦτα[1] αὐτοῖς τότε διαλλαγῆναι· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἐπὶ πλεῖον εὐτύχησαν, ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐσωφρόνησαν, τὸ μὲν θράσος, οὗ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέχει, πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἐνδεικνύμενοι, τὸ δὲ ἐπιεικές, οὗ κοινωνεῖ ἡ[2] εὐταξία,[3] κατ' ἀλλήλους παρεχό-
2 μενοι· τήν τε γὰρ ἰσχὺν πρὸς μετριότητος ἀκινδύνου[4] ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὸ κόσμιον πρὸς ἀνδρείας ἀληθοῦς κτῆσιν ἐλάμβανον, μήτε τὴν εὐπραγίαν ἐς ὕβριν μήτε τὴν ἐπιείκειαν ἐς δειλίαν ἐξάγοντες. οὕτω μὲν γὰρ τό τε σωφρονοῦν ἐξ ἀνδρείας καὶ τὸ θαρσοῦν ἐκ δέους[5] φθείρεσθαι, ἐκείνως δὲ τὸ μέτριον ὑπ' ἀνδρείας ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὸ εὐτυχοῦν ὑπ' εὐταξίας βεβαιότερον γίγνεσθαι ἐνόμιζον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τούς τε προσπεσόντας σφίσι πολέμους κράτιστα διήνεγκαν καὶ τὰ σφέτερα τά τε τῶν συμμάχων ἄριστα ἐπολίτευσαν.—M. 132 (p. 186). ὅσῳ—ἐνόμιζον Max. Conf. Flor. (cod. Paris. 1169 f. 26r).

54 Ὅτι ὅσοι ἐντὸς τῶν Ἄλπεων ἐνέμοντο τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις συνεπανέστησαν, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀντὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνας ἀνθηροῦντο, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἄρχον σφῶν ἐμίσουν, τὸ δὲ ἀπείρατον ἠγάπων. ἐκ πάντων μὲν δὴ τῶν τότε ἐθνῶν σύμμαχοι[6] τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπὶ

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χους συχνοὺς προσλαβὼν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἠπέγετο.

[1] ταῦτα Cary, ταῦτά τε Ms. [2] οὗ κοινωνεῖ ἡ Kuebler, οὐκ ἐν Mss. [3] εὐταξία Cary, εὐψυχία Mss. [4] ἀκινδύνου Bs., ἀκίνδυνον flor., om. palimps. [5] δέους Polak, θάρσους Mss.

strong fear to forbearance, they at this time had a very different experience in these matters. For the greater their successes, the more were they sobered; against their enemies they displayed that daring which is seen in the brave, but toward one another they showed the forbearance which goes hand in hand with good order. They used their power for the exercise of safe moderation and their orderliness for the acquirement of true bravery; and they did not allow either their good fortune to develop into arrogance or their forbearance into cowardice. They believed that in the latter case sobriety was ruined by bravery and boldness by fear; whereas with them moderation was rendered more secure by bravery and good fortune surer by good order. It was due to this in particular that they carried through so successfully the wars that came upon them and administered both their own affairs and those of the allies so well.

All who dwelt on the near side of the Alps revolted to join the Carthaginians, not because they preferred the Carthaginians to the Romans as leaders, but because they hated the power that ruled them and welcomed the untried. The Carthaginians had allies against the Romans from every one

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numerous allies to his force, was hastening toward Italy.

[6] ἐκ πάντων μὲν δὴ τῶν τότε ἐθνῶν σύμμαχοι Bs., ἕκαστον τῶν μὲν δὴ τότε ἐθνῶν σύμμαχον Mai, ἐκ . . . ντων μὲν δὴ τότε ἐθνῶν συμμα . . . Ms.

τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπῆρξαν· πρὸς ἅπαντας δ' ὡς εἰπεῖν αὐτοὺς ἰσοστάσιος ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐγένετο· συνεῖναί τε γὰρ ὀξύτατα καὶ ἐκφροντίσαι πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνεθυμεῖτο τάχιστα[1] ἐδύνατο· καίτοι πέφυκεν ὡς πλήθει τὸ μὲν βέβαιον ἐκ βραδυτῆτος, τὸ δὲ ὀξύρροπον ἐκ τάχους διανοίας ὑπάρχειν.
2 κ . . . ωτατος[2] τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπογυωτάτου καὶ διαρκέστατος ἐς τὸ φερεγγυώτατον ἦν· τό τε ἀεὶ παρὸν ἀσφαλῶς διετίθετο καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἰσχυρῶς προενόει, βουλευτής τε τοῦ συνήθους ἱκανώτατος καὶ εἰκαστὴς τοῦ παραδόξου ἀκριβέστατος γενόμενος, ἀφ' ὧν τό τε ἤδη προσπῖπτόν οἱ ἑτοιμότατα καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου καθίστατο, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῖς λογισμοῖς προλαμβάνων ὡς καὶ παρὸν
3 διεσκόπει. κἀκ τούτου καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐφήρμοζεν, ἅτε καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ τό τε ὑπάρχον καὶ τὸ ἐλπιζόμενον ποιούμενος. ἐδύνατο δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτω πράττειν, ὅτι πρὸς τῇ τῆς φύσεως ἀρετῇ καὶ παιδείᾳ πολλῇ μὲν Φοινικικῇ κατὰ τὸ πάτριον πολλῇ δὲ καὶ Ἑλληνικῇ ἤσκητο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ μαντικὴν τὴν[3] διὰ σπλάγχνων ἠπίστατο.—M. 133 (p. 187); καίτοι—ὑπάρχειν (§ 1) Suid. *s. v.* ὡς ἐπίπαν, "ἐν τρισκαιδεκάτῳ," and ὅτι πρὸς τῇ τῆς φύσεως —ἠπίστατο (§ 3) Val. 31 (p. 593).

[1] ἐνεθυμεῖτο τάχιστα Bs., ενεθυμειτο (?) . . . Ms.
[2] κ . . . ωτατος Ms. acc. to Bs., τη . . . acc. to Mai.
[3] μαντικὴν τὴν Rk., μαντικῆς τῆς Ms.

of the tribes that then existed; but all of them taken together were scarcely Hannibal's equal. He could comprehend matters most clearly and plan out most promptly every project that he conceived, notwithstanding the fact that, as a rule, sureness is the result of deliberation and instability the result of a hasty disposition. He was most resourceful (?) in the suddenest emergency, and most steadfast with the greatest degree of reliability. Not only did he safely handle the affair of the moment, but he accurately read the future beforehand; he proved himself a most capable counsellor in ordinary events and a most accurate judge of the unusual. By these powers he not only handled the situation immediately confronting him most readily and in the briefest time, but also by calculation anticipated the future afar off and considered it as though it were actually present. Consequently he, above all other men, met each occasion with suitable words and acts, because he viewed the expected and the actual in the same light. He was able to manage matters thus for the reason that in addition to his natural capacity he was versed in much Phoenician learning common to his country, and likewise in much Greek learning, and furthermore he understood divination by the inspection of entrails.

4 Τοιοῦτος οὖν δή τις τὴν ψυχὴν γενόμενος ἀντίρροπον καὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὰ μὲν φύσει, τὰ δὲ καὶ διαίτῃ, παρεσκεύαστο, ὥσθ' ὅσα ἐνεχειρίζετο ῥᾳδίως κατεργάζεσθαι. κοῦφόν τε γὰρ καὶ ἐμβριθὲς ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτὸ εἶχε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θεῖν καὶ συνίστασθαι ἱππεύειν τε ἀνὰ κράτος ἀσφαλῶς ἐδύνατο. καὶ οὔτε πλήθει ποτὲ τροφῆς ἐβαρύνετο οὔτε ἐνδείᾳ ἔκαμνεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ τὸ πλέον καὶ τὸ ἔλαττον, ὡς καὶ αὔταρκες ἑκάτερον, ἐλάμβανεν. ταῖς τε[1] ταλαιπωρίαις ἰσχυρίζετο, καὶ ταῖς ἀγρυπνίαις ἐρρώννυτο.

5 Οὕτως οὖν δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἔχων τοιᾷδε τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων διαχειρίσει ἐπίπαν ἐχρῆτο. τούς τε γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐς μόνον τὸ συμφέρον σφίσι πιστοὺς ὁρῶν ὄντας, αὐτός τε τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῖς προσεφέρετο καὶ ἐς ἐκείνους ταὐτὸν ὑπώπτευεν, ὥστε πλεῖστα μὲν ἀπατήσας τινὰς κατορθῶσαι, ἐλάχιστα δὲ
6 ἐπιβουλευθεὶς σφαλῆναι. καὶ πολέμιον πᾶν τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν δυνάμενον καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀθνείοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ὁμοίως ἡγούμενος, οὐκ ἀνέμενε τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐκμανθάνειν, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ βουλομένους σφᾶς ἀδικεῖν ὅτι ἐδύναντο[2] τραχύτατα μετεχειρίζετο, προποιῆσαί τέ τι μᾶλλον ἢ προπαθεῖν ἄμεινον ἡγεῖτο, καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐφ' ἑτέροις
7 ἑαυτὸν εἶναι ἠξίου. τό τε σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, τῇ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς ἐς φήμην

[1] τε supplied by Val. [2] ἐδύναντο Reim., ἐδύνατο Ms.

In addition to such mental qualities he was also equipped with a physique that had been brought to a state of equal perfection, partly by nature and partly by his manner of life, so that he could carry out easily everything that he undertook. He kept his body agile and at the same time as compact as possible; and he could with safety, therefore, run, or stand his ground, or ride at furious speed. He never burdened himself with overmuch food, nor suffered through lack of it, but took more or less with equal readiness, feeling that either was satisfactory. Hardship made him rugged, and on loss of sleep he grew strong.

Possessing these advantages of mind and body, he managed affairs in general as follows. Since he saw that most men were trustworthy only in what concerned their own interest, he himself dealt with them on this principle and expected the same treatment of them, so that he very often succeeded by deceiving persons and very seldom failed by being the object of a plot. He regarded as enemies all who could gain an advantage, whether foreigners or his own countrymen, and did not wait to learn their intentions from their acts, but treated them very harshly, assuming that they were desirous of doing whatever injury they could; he thought it better to be the first to act than the first to suffer, and resolved that others should be in his power rather than he in theirs. In short, he paid attention to the real nature of things, rather than to the good things

αὐτῶν εὐδοκιμοῦσιν, ὁσάκις γε μὴ κατ' αὐτὸ[1] καὶ ἄμφω συνέπιπτε, προσέκειτο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐτίμα καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὅτου δέοιτο· δούλους τε γὰρ τοῦ τοιούτου τοὺς πλείστους ἡγεῖτο εἶναι, καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον
8 σφίσιν ἐθέλοντας ἑώρα. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν κερδῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἡδίστων αὐτὸς μὲν πολλάκις ἀπείχετο, ἐκείνοις δὲ ἀφθόνως μετεδίδου, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κοινωνούς σφας καὶ τῶν πόνων οὐκ ἀκουσίους ἐκτᾶτο. καὶ τούτοις μὲν οὐχ ὅπως ἰσοδίαιτος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰσοκίνδυνος ἐγίγνετο, πάνθ' ὅσα ἀπῄτει παρ' αὐτῶν πρῶτος ἐκπονούμενος· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνους ἀπροφασίστως καὶ προθύμως, ἅτε μὴ κενοῖς λόγοις[2] αὐτοῦ προσέχοντας, σύμπαντά οἱ συμπράξειν ἐπίστευεν· πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους πολλῷ τῷ φρονήματι
9 ἀεὶ ἐχρῆτο· ὥστε τοὺς μὲν εὔνοιαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς δὲ δέος ἔκ τε τοῦ ὁμοδιαίτου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος παμπληθεῖς ἔχειν. ἐξ οὗπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τό τε ὑπερέχον κολούειν[3] καὶ τὸ ταπεινούμενον ἐξαίρειν, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὄκνον, τῷ δὲ θάρσος, ἐλπίδα τε καὶ[4] ἀπόγνωσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων δι' ἐλαχίστου πᾶσιν οἷς ἐβούλετο ἐμποιεῖν ἐδύνατο.

10 Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' οὐκ ἄλλως περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγεται ἀλλ' ἀληθῆ παραδέδοται, τεκμηριοῖ τὰ ἔργα. τῆς τε γὰρ Ἰβηρίας πολλὰ διὰ βραχέος προσεκτή-

[1] αὐτὸ Val., αὐτὸν Ms.
[2] μὴ κενοῖς λόγοις v. Herw., μήτε τοῖς λόγοις Ms.
[3] κολούειν Val., κωλύειν Ms. [4] τε καὶ supplied by Val.

said of them, as often as the two did not happen to coincide. However, he showed excessive honour to any of whom he stood in need; for he considered that most men are slaves to such distinction, and saw that they were willing to encounter danger for the sake of it, even contrary to their own interest. For these reasons he often refrained himself from opportunities for gain and other most delightful pleasures, but gave a share ungrudgingly to them. Hence he could get them to be zealous partners in hard work also. Furthermore, he subjected himself not only to the same conditions of living as these men, but also to the same dangers, and was the first to perform every task that he demanded of them. For he believed that thus they in their turn would give him unhesitating and eager support in all his projects, since they saw on his part something more than empty words. Towards the rest he always behaved very haughtily; and the whole multitude, in consequence, felt either good-will or fear toward him because of their similar conditions of life in the one case, and because of his haughtiness in the other. Consequently, he was fully able to bring low the lofty, to exalt the humble, and in the briefest time to inspire any whom he pleased, now with hesitation, now with boldness, with hope also and despair, regarding the most important matters.

Now that this is not idle report about him, but truthful tradition, his deeds are proof. He won over many new districts of Spain in a short time, and from

σατο, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκεῖθεν διὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν, οὐχ ὅτι ἀσπόνδων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγνώστων οἱ τῶν πλείστων ὄντων, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσήγαγε. τάς τε Ἄλπεις πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων τῶν οὐκ Εὐρωπαίων, ὅσα γε ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, σὺν στρατῷ διέβη. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπεστράτευσε, τά τε συμμαχικὰ αὐτῆς ὀλίγου πάντα, τὰ μὲν βίᾳ, τὰ δὲ καὶ πείθων,
11 ἀπέρρηξεν. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων κατέπραξεν. οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν ἐξεπέμφθη, οὔθ' ὕστερον μεγάλης τινὸς βοηθείας παρ' αὐτῶν ἔτυχε· τῆς γάρ τοι δόξης τῆς τε ὠφελίας οὐκ ἐλάχιστα ἀπολαύσειν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μέλλοντες, μὴ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν αὐτὸν δόξαι μᾶλλον ἢ συναίρεσθαι ἔν τινι ἰσχυρῶς ἠθέλησαν.—V. 31 (p. 593).

55 Ὅτι ἡ μὲν εἰρήνη καὶ πορίζει χρήματα καὶ φυλάσσει, ὁ δὲ δὴ πόλεμος καὶ ἀναλίσκει[1] καὶ διαφθείρει.—M. 134 (p. 188).

Ὅτι πέφυκε πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον δεσπόζειν τε ἐπιθυμεῖν τῶν ὑπεικόντων καὶ τῇ παρὰ τῆς τύχης ῥοπῇ κατὰ τῶν ἐθελοδουλούντων χρῆσθαι.—M. 135 (p. 188).

2 Ἀλλὰ μὴν συνειδότες αὐτὸ[2] καὶ πεπειραμένοι

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πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι συνῆλθον εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ ἐλέχθη μὲν πολλά, Λούκιος δὲ Κορνήλιος Λέντουλος ἐδημηγόρησε καὶ εἶπε

[1] ἀναλίσκει Bk., διαναλίσκει Mai. [2] ἀλλὰ μὴν συνειδότες αὐτὸ Bs., combining suggestions of v. Herw. and of Bk., ἀλλ' ἡμῖν οἵ τε εἰδότες αὐτὰ Mai, and so perhaps Ms. (except αὐτὸ ?).

there carried the war into Italy through the country of the Gauls, most of whom were not only not in league with him, but actually unknown to him. He was the first of non-Europeans, so far as we know, to cross the Alps with an army, and after that he made a campaign against Rome itself, sundering from it almost all its allies, some by force and others by persuasion. This, however, he achieved by himself without the aid of the Carthaginian government. He was not sent forth in the beginning by the magistrates at home, nor did he later obtain any great assistance from them. For although they were to enjoy no slight glory and benefit from his efforts, they wished rather not to appear to be leaving him in the lurch than to coöperate effectively in any enterprise.

Peace not only creates wealth but also preserves it, whereas war both expends it and destroys it.[1]

All mankind is so constituted as to desire to lord it over such as yield, and to employ the turn of Fortune's scale against those who are willing to be enslaved.

But do you, who have knowledge of this fact and

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The Romans, on ascertaining this, assembled in the senate-house, and many speeches were delivered. Lucius Cornelius Lentulus in his address declared

[1] This and the following fragments (§§ 1–8) seem to be taken from speeches delivered in the senate—§ 1 by an unknown individual, opposing war, §§ 2 and 3 by Lentulus, urging war, and §§ 3a–8 by Fabius, in reply to Lentulus.

αὐτῶν ἐξαρκεῖν ὑμῖν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τήν τε ἐπιείκειαν καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν νομίζετε; καὶ ὅσα ἂν ἢ λαθόντες ἢ ἐξαπατήσαντες ἡμᾶς ἢ καὶ βιασάμενοι ἀδικήσωσιν ἐν ἀμελείᾳ τίθεσθε,[1] μήτε παρορμᾶσθε[2] μήτε προφυλάττεσθε[3] μήτε ἀμύνεσθε;[4] καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἐλογίσασθε[5] τοῦθ' ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς μὲν ἀλλήλους ὀρθῶς ὑμῖν ἔχει ποιεῖν, πρὸς δὲ δὴ Καρχηδονίους αἰσχρῶς καὶ κακῶς· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πολίταις καὶ πράως καὶ πολιτικῶς χρῆσθαι δεῖ, κἂν γὰρ ἀλόγως τις[6] σωθῇ, ἡμέτερόν ἐστιν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ πολεμίοις ἀφειδῶς.[7] οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ὧν ἂν σφαλῶμεν φεισάμενοι αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν κρατήσωμεν κολούσαντες αὐτοὺς σωθησόμεθα.—M. 136 (p. 188).

3 Ὅτι ὁ μὲν πόλεμος καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖά τισι σώζει καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια προσκτᾶται, ἡ δὲ εἰρήνη οὐχ ὅπως τὰ πορισθέντα δι' ἐκεῖνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτὴν προσαπόλλυσιν.—M. 137 (p. 188) and Max. Conf. Flor. f. 157v (M. p. 541).

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μὴ μέλλειν, ἀλλὰ πόλεμον κατὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ψηφίσασθαι, καὶ διχῇ διελεῖν καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὴν Λιβύην πέμψαι, ἵν' ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἥ τε χώρα αὐτῶν πορθῆται καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι κακουργῶνται καὶ μήτε τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ βοηθῆσαι δύνωνται μήτ' ἐκεῖθεν αὐτοὶ ἐπι-

[1] βιασάμενοι ἀδικήσωσιν ἐν ἀμελείᾳ τίθεσθε Bs., Ms. now illegible. [2] παρορμᾶσθε Bs., παρορμᾶσθαι Ms. [3] προφυλάττεσθε Bs., προσαλλάττεσθαι Mai and Ms. (?) [4] ἀμύνεσθε Bs., ἀμύ-

who have had experience with these men, believe that forbearance and mildness are sufficient for your safety? And can you regard with indifference all the wrongs they may do us by stealth or deceit, or even by violence? Will you not rather bestir yourselves, be on your guard in season, and defend yourselves? And, indeed, you have never reflected that such behaviour is in place for you toward one another, while toward the Carthaginians it is cowardly and base. Our citizens we must treat in a manner both gentle and worthy of citizens; for if one be saved unexpectedly, it is our gain. But the enemy we must treat unsparingly; for we shall save ourselves, not by the defeats we incur as a result of sparing them, but by the victories we win as a result of humbling them.

War both preserves men's own possessions and wins those of others, whereas peace destroys not only what has been bestowed by war, but itself in addition.

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they must not delay, but must vote for war against the Carthaginians, and must separate the consuls and armies into two detachments, sending one to Spain and the other to Africa, in order that at one and the same time the enemy's land might be desolated and their allies injured; thus their foes would be unable either to assist Spain or to receive assistance from there

νασθαι Ms. [5] ἐλογίσασθε Bs., ἐλογίσασθαι Ms. [6] τις Mai, τι Ms. [7] ἀφειδῶς Bs., ἀσφαλῶς Mai, Ms. uncertain.

3[a] Αἰσχρὸν ἄρ' ἐστὶν ἤτοι τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὴ ὀρθῶς δόξαι τι πεποιηκέναι ἢ αὖθις μὴ δεόντως μετεγνωκέναι·[1] τό τε γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς προπετῶς ἃ μὴ χρὴ πράττειν δεινόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ τὰ ἀρέσαντα ἅπαξ ἐμπλήκτως λύειν δεινότερον.—Max. Conf. Flor. in cod. Paris. 1169 f. 18r.

3[b] Δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς βιοῦντας καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι χρωμένους[2] προδιασκοπεῖν πρότερον ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν, εἶθ' οὕτως τοῖς ἀρέσασι
4 χρῆσθαι· αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα πρὸ τῶν λόγων τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν χωρεῖν, ἐν ᾧ κατορθώσαντες μὲν εὐτυχηκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ καλῶς βεβουλεῦσθαι δόξετε, σφαλέντες δὲ τὴν σκέψιν ἀπρονοήτως ὅτε οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἔτι[3] ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνο τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐπιτιμῆσαί τι καὶ κατηγορῆσαί τινων προσπολεμησάντων ποτὲ ἡμῖν ῥᾷστόν που καὶ παντός ἐστι, τὸ δ' αὖ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον οὐ[4] πρὸς ὀργὴν ὧν πεποιήκασί τινες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον αὐτῆς εἰπεῖν τῇ τοῦ συμβούλου τάξει προσήκει;
5 μὴ παρόξυνε πρότερον ἡμᾶς, ὦ Λέντουλε, μηδ' ἀνάπειθε πολεμῆσαι πρὶν ὅτι καὶ συνοίσει τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι, σκοπῶν τά τε ἄλλα καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐνταυθοῖ τε περὶ τῶν τοῦ πολέμου

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κουρηθῶσι. πρὸς ταῦτα Κύιντος Φάβιος Μάξιμος ἀντέθετο μὴ οὕτως ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τὸν πόλεμον

[1] δεόντως μετεγνωκέναι Bs., δέοντος με γνωκέναι Ms.
[2] χρωμένους Bs., χρωμένοις Ms. [3] ἔτι v. Herw., τι palimps., ἐστι flor. [4] συμφέρον οὐ Mai, συμφέρει Ms.

Thus it is disgraceful to seem either to have taken the wrong course in the beginning or to have repented later when there was no necessity; for serious as it is to make a mistake in one's haste at the outset, it is yet more serious to give up in dismay the plan once approved.

Those whose lives are upright and noble and who are concerned with affairs must consider ahead of time what needs to be done, and then adopt the course which has met their approval; for it is base to proceed to action before there has been discussion of the matter. In such a case, if successful, you will appear to have enjoyed good fortune rather than to have used good judgment, and if defeated, to be making your investigation at a time when there is no longer any profit in it. And yet who does not know that to heap up reproaches and to accuse people who have once warred against us is very easy—any man can do it—whereas, to state what is advantageous for the state, not in anger over other men's deeds, but with a view to the benefit of the state, is the duty of the advising class? Do not arouse us, Lentulus, nor persuade us to go to war, until you show us that it will be really to our advantage. Reflect particularly—though there are other considerations—that speaking here about deeds

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themselves. To this Quintus Fabius Maximus replied that it was not so absolutely necessary to vote for war,

πραγμάτων λέγεται καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔργοις πράττεται.—Max. Conf. Flor. in cod. Paris. 1169 f. 18r (*δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς—ὅτ' οὐδὲν ὄφελός ἐστι ποιήσασθαι*) and M. 138 (p. 189) (*ὅτι αἰσχρόν ἐστι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα—πράττεται*).

6 *Συχνοὺς γὰρ αἱ συμφοραὶ διορθοῦσι, καὶ πολλοὶ καλῶς αὐταῖς χρησάμενοι κρεῖττον ἀπαλλάσσουσι τῶν εὖ καὶ τελείως πραττόντων καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ ὑβριζόντων· δοκεῖ γάρ πως ἡ κακοπραγία μέρος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἔχειν ὠφελίας, ὅτι μήτε ἐκφρονεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μήτε ἐξυβρίζειν ἐᾷ. κράτιστον μὲν γάρ ἐστι φύσει πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἀμείνονα τετράφθαι, καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας μέτρον μὴ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν λογισμὸν ποιεῖσθαι· ἂν δέ τις ἀδυνατῇ στέργειν τὸ κρεῖττον, λυσιτελεῖ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄκοντι σωφρονεῖν, ὥστε ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ καὶ τὸ μὴ πάντα εὖ πράττειν τίθεσθαι.*—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 103r (M. p. 542).

57, 12 *Πῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον τά τε ἔξω καὶ τὰ πόρρω πραττόμενα προθυμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς κατορθῶσαι πρὸ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν ἐπανορθῶσαι; πῶς δ' οὐ σχέτλιον τῶν πολεμίων σπουδάζειν κρατῆσαι πρὸ τοῦ τὰ σφέτερα εὖ θέσθαι;*—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 157v (M. p. 543).

55, 7 *Φυλάξασθαι χρὴ μὴ καὶ αὖθίς τι τῶν ὁμοίων*

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δεῖν ψηφίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ πρεσβείᾳ χρήσασθαι πρότερον, κἂν μὲν πείσωσιν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν, ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἂν δ' ἀδικοῦντες ἁλῶσι, τότε πολε-

of war is not the same thing as actually doing them.

Men are often set on their feet by disasters, and many who make a wise use of them fare better than those who are altogether fortunate and for that reason arrogant. Somehow adversity seems to contain no inconsiderable portion of benefit, because it does not permit men to lose their senses or to indulge in extreme arrogance. It is most desirable, of course, to have a natural inclination toward all the best things, and to make not possibility, but reason, the measure of desire. But if a man be unable to admire the more excellent way, it will still pay him to learn moderation, even against his will, so as to regard occasional ill success as good fortune.

Now is it not absurd for us to be zealous for success in foreign and remote enterprises before we set the city itself upon a firm foundation? And is it not rash to be eager to conquer the enemy before we set our own affairs well in order?

It is imperative to be on one's guard against any

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but that they ought first to send an embassy, and then, if the Carthaginians persuaded them that they were guilty of no wrong, they should remain quiet, but if these were convicted of wrongdoing, they

παθεῖν· ὅπερ που καὶ μόνον ἄν τις ἐκ τῶν συμφορῶν ὠφεληθείη· αἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐπραγίαι σφάλλουσιν ἔστιν ὅτε τοὺς ἀπερισκέπτως τι δι' αὐτὰς ἐλπίσαντας ὡς καὶ αὖθις κρατήσοντας, τὰ δὲ δὴ πταίσματα ἀναγκάζει πάντα τινὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν πεπείραται καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀσφαλῶς προορᾶσθαι.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 103r (M. p. 542) and M. 139 (p. 189) (ὅτι αἱ μὲν εὐπραγίαι—προορᾶσθαι).

8 Ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι σμικρὸν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὔνοιαν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐδοξίαν τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν πολεμοποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀναγκάζεσθαι τοὺς ὑπάρξαντας ἀμύνασθαι.—M. 140 (p. 189).

9 Τοιούτων δή τινων ἐπ' ἀμφότερα λεχθέντων, ἔδοξέ σφισι παρασκευάζεσθαι μὲν ὡς καὶ πολεμήσουσι, μὴ μέντοι καὶ[1] τοῦτο ψηφίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ πρέσβεις ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα πέμψασι τοῦ Ἀννίβου κατηγορῆσαι, καὶ εἰ μὲν μὴ ἐπαινοῖεν τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, δικάσαι, εἰ δ' ἐς ἐκεῖνον ἀναφέροιεν αὐτά, ἐξαίτησιν αὐτοῦ ποιήσαι αὐτοῖς, ἵνα καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀπωσώμεθα.

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αἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφοῖν δόξαι τοιαῦται ἦσαν, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ εἰπεῖν, τῇ δὲ βουλῇ παρασκευάζεσθαι μὲν ἔδοξε πρὸς τὴν μάχην, πρέσβεις δὲ εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα στεῖλαι καὶ τοῦ Ἀννίβου κατηγορῆσαι, καὶ εἰ μὲν μὴ ἐπαινοῖεν τὰ πραχθέντα, δικάσαι, εἰ δ' εἰς ἐκεῖνον αὐτὰ ἀνα-

[1] καὶ added by Bs., small space in Ms.

similar experience again; this is the only benefit that one can receive from disasters. Successes occasionally ruin those who unthinkingly base their hopes upon them, believing they are sure of another victory, whereas failures compel every one as a result of his past experiences to provide securely for the future.

For securing either the favour of the gods or a good reputation among men it is no small thing to avoid the appearance of beginning war, and to seem forced rather to defend oneself against aggression.

After speeches of this character on both sides they decided to prepare for war; they would not vote for this, however, but decided to send envoys to Carthage and denounce Hannibal. Then, if the Carthaginians did not approve his deeds, they would arbitrate the matter, or if the responsibility were put upon him, they would present a

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should then wage war upon them—"in order," he added, "that we may also cast the responsibility for the war upon them." The opinions of the two men were substantially these. The senate decided to prepare, indeed, for the struggle, but to send envoys to Carthage and denounce Hannibal; and if the Carthaginians did not approve his deeds, they would arbitrate the matter, or if the responsibility were put upon him, they would demand his

σασθαι, κἂν μὲν ἐκδῶσιν αὐτόν,—εἰ δὲ μή, τὸν πόλεμόν σφισιν ἐπαγγεῖλαι.—M. 141 (p. 190).

10 Ὅτι ὡς οὐδὲν σαφὲς οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ αὐτοὺς ἐποιοῦντο, ὁ Φάβιος ὁ Μᾶρκος[1] τάς τε

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φέροιεν, ἐξαιτήσασθαι αὐτόν, κἂν μὴ ἐκδῶσι, τὸν πόλεμον ἐπαγγεῖλαι αὐτοῖς.

Τῶν γοῦν πρέσβεων ἀπελθόντων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὸ ποιητέον ἐσκόπουν. καί τις Ἀσδρούβας, εἷς τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου προπαρεσκευασμένων, συνεβούλευσε σφίσι χρῆναι τήν τε ἀρχαίαν ἐλευθερίαν ἀνακτήσασθαι καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης δουλείαν ἀποτρίψασθαι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ δυνάμεσι καὶ συμμάχοις συγκεκροτημένοις, ἐπαγαγὼν ὅτι "κἂν τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ μόνῳ ὅσα βούλεται πρᾶξαι ἐπιτρέψητε, καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ἔσται καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ πονήσετε." τοιαῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος, Ἄννων ὁ μέγας ἐναντιούμενος τοῖς τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου λόγοις γνώμην εἰσήνεγκε μήτε ῥᾳδίως μήτε μικρῶν καὶ ἀλλοτρίων ἐγκλημάτων ἕνεκα τὸν πόλεμον ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπισπάσασθαι, παρὸν τὰ μὲν λῦσαι, τὰ δὲ ἐς τοὺς δράσαντας αὐτὰ τρέψαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο, τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων οἱ μὲν πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τοῦ πρὶν μεμνημένοι πολέμου αὐτῷ συνετίθεντο, οἱ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσοι τὰ τοῦ Ἀννίβου ἔπραττον ἰσχυρῶς ἀντέλεγον. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν σαφὲς ἀπεκρίναντο καὶ ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ τοὺς πρέσβεις εἶχον, ὁ Μάρκος[1] ὁ Φάβιος τὰς χεῖρας ὑπὸ τὸ ἱμάτιον

[1] Willems suggests that Μᾶρκος is here a corruption of Μάξιμος.

demand for his surrender; and if he were given up, well and good; otherwise they would declare war upon them.

When the Carthaginians made no definite answer to the envoys and actually showed contempt for them, Marcus[1] Fabius thrust his hands beneath

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surrender, and if he were not given up, they would declare war upon the nation.

The envoys accordingly set out, and the Carthaginians considered what must be done. Now a certain Hasdrubal, one of those who had been primed by Hannibal, counselled them that they ought to win back their ancient freedom and shake off, by means of money and troops and allies combined, the slavery imposed by peace, adding: "If you will but permit Hannibal to act by himself as he wishes, the proper thing will be done, and you will have no trouble yourselves." After such words on Hasdrubal's part the great Hanno, in opposing this argument, expressed the opinion that they ought not to draw war upon themselves lightly nor for small complaints concerning foreigners, when it was in their power to settle some of the complaints and divert the rest upon the heads of those who were responsible. With these remarks he ceased, and the elder Carthaginians, who remembered the former war, sided with him; but the younger men, and especially all the partisans of Hannibal, violently opposed him. When, then, they made no definite answer and showed contempt for the envoys, Marcus[1] Fabius, thrusting his hands beneath his

[1] See note on the Greek text.

χεῖρας ὑπὸ τὸ ἱμάτιον ὑπέβαλε καὶ ὑπτιάσας αὐτὰς ἔφη "ἐγὼ μὲν ἐνταῦθ', ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην φέρω, ὑμεῖς δ' ὁπότερον αὐτῶν βούλεσθε ἄντικρυς ἕλεσθε." ἀποκριναμένων δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τότε αὐτῶν αἱρεῖσθαι μὲν μηδέτερον, δέχεσθαι δὲ ἑτοίμως ὁπότερον ἂν σφισι καταλίπωσι, τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ἐπήγγειλεν—M. 142 (p. 190).

56 Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Ναρβωνησίους πρὸς συμμαχίαν ἐκάλουν· οἱ δὲ οὔτε τι πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων κακὸν οὔτ' αὖ πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀγαθόν, ὥστε τοῖς μὲν πολεμῆσαι, τοῖς δὲ ἀμῦναι, πεπονθέναι πώποτε ἔφασαν, καὶ πάνυ δι' ὀργῆς αὐτοὺς ἔσχον, ἐπικαλοῦντές σφισιν ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τοὺς ὁμοφύλους αὐτῶν ἐδεδράκεσαν.—M. 143 (p. 190).

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ὑποβαλὼν καὶ ὑπτιάσας αὐτὰς ἔφη "ἐγὼ μὲν ἐνταῦθ', ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην φέρω, ὑμεῖς δ' ὁπότερον αὐτῶν βούλεσθε ἕλεσθε." ἀποκριθέντων δὲ μηδέτερον μὲν αἱρεῖσθαι, δέχεσθαι δ' ἑτοίμως ὁπότερον καταλείψουσιν, ἐπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς αὐτίκα τὸν πόλεμον.

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα οἵ τε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὸ δεύτερον ἐπολέμησαν. καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον τὰ γενησόμενα προεσήμηνεν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀνθρωπίνως ἐλάλησε βοῦς, καὶ ἕτερος ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πανηγύρει ἐξ οἰκίας εἰς τὸ Τίβεριν ἑαυτὸν ἔρριψε καὶ ἐφθάρη, κεραυνοί τε πολλοὶ ἐφέροντο, καὶ αἷμα τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀγαλμάτων ὤφθη,

his toga, and holding them with palms upward, exclaimed: "I bring you here, Carthaginians, both war and peace; choose once for all whichever of them you wish." Upon their replying then and there to this challenge that they chose neither, but would readily accept whichever the Romans left with them, he declared war upon them.

The Romans invited the Narbonenses to an alliance. But these people declared that they had never suffered any harm from the Carthaginians nor received any favour from the Romans that they should war against the one or defend the other, and were quite angry with them; for they accused them of having done their kinsmen many wrongs.

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toga, and holding them with palms upward, exclaimed: "I bring you here, Carthaginians, both war and peace: choose whichever of them you wish." Upon their replying that they chose neither, but would readily accept whichever the Romans should leave, he immediately declared war upon them.

In this way, then, and for these reasons the Romans and the Carthaginians went to war for the second time. Now Heaven had indicated beforehand what was to come to pass. For in Rome an ox talked with a human voice, and another at the Ludi Romani hurled himself out of a house into the Tiber and perished, many thunderbolts fell, and blood in one case was seen issuing from sacred

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τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀσπίδος στρατιώτου ἐρρύη, ἑτέρου τε ξίφος ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατοπέδου λύκος ἥρπασε. τῷ δ' Ἀννίβᾳ θηρία πολλὰ καὶ ἄγνωστα τὸν Ἴβηρα διαβαίνοντι προκαθηγήσατο, καὶ ὄψις ὀνείρου ἐφάνη. ἔδοξε γάρ ποτε τοὺς θεοὺς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καθημένους μεταπέμψασθαί τε αὐτὸν καὶ στρατεῦσαι ὅτι τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν προστάξαι καὶ λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἡγεμόνα, καὶ ἀμεταστρεπτὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κελευσθῆναι ἕπεσθαι· μεταστραφῆναι δὲ καὶ ἰδεῖν χειμῶνα μέγαν χωροῦντα καὶ δράκοντα αὐτῷ ἐπακολουθοῦντα ἀμήχανον, καὶ θαυμάσαι ἐρέσθαι τε τὸν ἀγωγὸν τί ταῦτα εἶεν· καὶ τὸν εἰπεῖν "ὦ Ἀννίβα, ταῦτα συμπορθήσοντά σοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔρχεται."

statues, whereas in another it dripped from the shield of a soldier, and the sword of another soldier was carried off by a wolf from the very midst of the camp. And in the case of Hannibal, many unknown wild beasts went before him leading the way, as he was crossing the Iberus, and a vision appeared to him in a dream. He thought once that the gods, sitting in assembly, sent for him and bade him march with all speed into Italy and receive from them a guide for the way, and that by this guide he was commanded to follow without turning around. He did turn, however, and saw a great tempest moving along and an immense serpent following in its wake. In surprise he asked his conductor what these were; and the guide said: "Hannibal, these are on their way to help you in the sack of Italy."

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XIV

57 Ὅτι ἀπὸ τοιαύτης φησὶν ὁ Δίων ἐκεῖθεν ἤδη προσδοκίας Ῥωμαίους καὶ Καρχηδονίους καθίστασθαι μέγιστον τῇ γνώμῃ τὸ διάφορον ἐς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου διαχείρισιν εἰληφότας. τό τε γὰρ εὔελπι πρὸς εὐθυμίαν πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἄγον προθυμοτέρους τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐχεγγυωτέρους πρὸς πίστιν τοῦ κρατήσειν παρέχεται, καὶ τὸ δύσελπι ἔς τε ἀθυμίαν καὶ ἐς ἀπόγνωσιν ἐμβαλὸν καὶ τὴν ῥώμην τῆς εὐψυχίας ἀφαιρεῖται.—M. 144 (p. 191).

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23. Ταῦτα τῷ μὲν Ἀννίβᾳ χρηστὴν ἐλπίδα, τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις δεινὴν ἐνεποίει ἐκφόβησιν. διχῇ δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διελόντες καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους, Σεμπρώνιον μὲν Λόγγον ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπεμψαν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν Σκιπίωνα Πούπλιον. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὡς τάχιστα ἐπιθυμῶν εἰσβαλεῖν, σπουδῇ ἐχώρει, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυρηναίου καὶ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ οὖσαν ἀμαχεὶ διῆλθε. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ οὐδεὶς εἰς χεῖρας ἧκεν αὐτῷ, ἐκεῖ δ' ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπεφάνη, καίπερ μὴ παρούσης

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XIV

With these expectations and for these reasons, Dio says, the Romans and Carthaginians had come to hold the most divergent opinions regarding the conduct of the war. For hopefulness, in that it leads all men to cheerfulness, makes them also more zealous and confident in the belief that they will be victorious; whereas hopelessness casts them into dejection and despair, and robs even courage of its strength.

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23. These things inspired Hannibal with good hope, but threw the Romans into a state of profound terror; they divided their forces into two parts and sent out the consuls, Sempronius Longus to Sicily and Publius Scipio to Spain. Hannibal, desiring to invade Italy with all possible speed, marched on hurriedly, and traversed without a conflict the whole of Gaul lying between the Pyrenees and the Rhone. As far as the Rhone river no one came to oppose him, but at that point Scipio showed himself, although

2 Οἶά που[1] οὖν φιλεῖ τά τε διὰ πλείστου καὶ τὰ ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ ὄντα πολλοὺς ἐκταράσσειν, δέος τοῖς Ἴβηρσιν οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐνεποίει. τὸ γάρ τοι πολὺ τοῦ ὁμίλου, τὸ μὴ ἀπ' οἰκείας τινὸς αἰτίας ἀλλ' ἐν συμμαχίας λόγῳ στρατευόμενον, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἔρρωται ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ὠφελήσεσθαί[2] τι ἀκινδύνως ἐλπίσωσιν· ὅταν δὲ δὴ ἐγγὺς τῶν ἀγώνων γένωνται, τάς τε ἐλπίδας τῶν κερδῶν ἐξίστανται καὶ τὰς πίστεις τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ἐγκαταλείπουσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ταῖς γνώμαις, ὡς καὶ πάντῃ πάντως κατορθώσοντας, λαβεῖν· εἰ δ' οὖν τι καὶ σφαλεῖεν, ἐλάχιστον αὐτὸ πρὸς ἃ ἀντήλπιζον νομίζειν.—M. 145 (p. 191).

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αὐτῷ τῆς δυνάμεως. ὅμως μετὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ τῶν αὐτοῖς προσοίκων τά τε πλοῖα τὰ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ προδιέφθειρε καὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα αὐτοῦ διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποιήσατο. ὁ οὖν Ἀννίβας ἔτριψε μέν τινα χρόνον καὶ σχεδίας καὶ σκάφη ἄλλα τε καὶ μονόξυλα κατασκευάζων, ἔφθη δ' οὖν ὑπὸ πολυχειρίας τὰ πρὸς περαίωσιν ἀναγκαῖα πάντα, πρὶν τῷ Σκιπίωνι τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀφικέσθαι στράτευμα, προετοιμασάμενος. καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μάγωνα σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ ψιλοῖς τισιν, ᾗ σκεδάννυται ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ νήσοις διαλαμβάνεται, διαβησόμενον ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἐμφανῆ πόρον ἐχώρει δῆθεν, ἵν' οἱ Γαλάται ἀπατηθεῖεν,

[1] που Mai, ποτ' Ms.
[2] ὠφελήσεσθαι v. Herw., ὠφεληθήσεσθαι Ms.

Even as matters at a great distance and unknown are wont to disturb a great many, so now they struck no little fear to the hearts of the Spaniards. For the majority of a multitude making a campaign not for any reason of its own but in the capacity of allies is a strong force just so long as the men have hopes of obtaining some benefit without danger; but when they have come close to the conflict, they abandon their hopes of gain and lose their faith in promises. And for the most part they get it into their heads that they are by all means going to be successful in every case; consequently, even if they should meet with some reverse, they regard it lightly in comparison with the hopes which have been offsetting it.[1]

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his troops were not with him. Nevertheless, with the help of the natives and their nearest neighbours, he had already destroyed the boats in the river and had posted guards over the stream. Hannibal, therefore, consumed some time in building rafts and skiffs, some out of single logs; but still, with the help of numerous workers, he had everything ready that was needful for crossing before Scipio's army arrived. He sent his brother Mago, accompanied by the horsemen and a few light troops, to cross at a point where the river spreads out to a considerable width, its course being interrupted by islands; but he himself made a show of crossing by the visible ford, his object being that the Gauls should

[1] The excerptor has apparently abridged Dio very carelessly here.

3 Ὅτι ἐπεὶ τῷ πλήθει τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ἀννίβου οὐδὲν τῶν παρασκευαζομένων ἐξήρκει . . . [1] καί τινος αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦτο γνώμην δόντος ταῖς τῶν ἐναντίων σαρξὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας σιτίζειν, τὸ μὲν πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἐδυσχέραινε, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ ἔφη μήποτε τοιούτων σωμάτων ἀπορήσαντες ἐπ' ἀλληλοφαγίαν τράπωνται.—M. 146 (p. 191).

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πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιταττόμενοι, καὶ ἀμελέστερον ἐν ἄλλοις τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν φυλακὴν θῶνται· ὃ καὶ γέγονε. καὶ ὁ Μάγων διέβη τὸν ποταμόν, ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν πόρον ἐπεραιοῦντο. καὶ γενόμενοι κατὰ τὸ μέσον ἠλάλαξαν, καὶ οἱ σαλπιγκταὶ δὲ συνήχησαν· καὶ ὁ Μάγων κατὰ νώτου τοῖς ἀνθεστηκόσι προσέπεσε· καὶ οὕτως οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες ἀκινδύνως ἐπεραιώθησαν. ἄρτι δὲ περαιωθέντων αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἡ οἰκεία ἀφίκετο δύναμις. πέμψαντες οὖν εἰς προσκοπὴν ἱππέας ἀμφότεροι τοιούτῳ τέλει τῆς ἱππομαχίας ἐχρήσαντο ὁποῖον ὁ σύμπας ἔσχηκε πόλεμος· οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἔλαττον τὴν πρώτην ἐνεγκάμενοι καὶ συχνοὺς ἀποβαλόντες ἐνίκησαν.

Ἐντεῦθεν Ἀννίβας ἀπιέναι πρὸς Ἰταλίαν σπεύδων, ὑποπτεύων δὲ τὰς ἐπιτομωτέρας τῶν ὁδῶν, ἐκείνας μὲν παρεξῆλθεν, ἑτέραν δὲ πορευθεὶς

[1] Lacuna recognized by Bk.

When the preparations that had been made proved to be in no wise commensurate with the size of Hannibal's army, and some one on this account suggested to him that the soldiers be fed on the flesh of their opponents, he did not take the idea amiss, but said he feared that some day through lack of bodies of that kind they might turn to eating one another.

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be deceived and array themselves against him only, while stationing their guards with less care at other points along the river. And this is exactly what occurred. Mago had already got across the river when Hannibal and his followers were crossing by the ford. On reaching the middle of the stream they raised the war cry and the trumpeters joined with the blare of their instruments; and Mago fell upon their opponents from the rear. In this way the elephants and all the rest crossed in safety. They had just finished crossing when Scipio's force arrived. Both sides, accordingly, sent horsemen to reconnoitre, and a cavalry battle ensued, with the same result as attended the war as a whole: the Romans, that is, after first getting the worst of it and losing a number of men, were in the end victorious.

Then Hannibal, in haste to set out for Italy, but suspicious of the more direct roads, turned aside from them and followed another, on which he met

4 Ὅτι Ἀννίβας[1] πρὶν ἔργου ἔχεσθαι συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατιώτας παρήγαγε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους οὓς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν εἰλήφει, καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτῶν πότερα δεδέσθαι τε ἐν πέδαις καὶ δουλεύειν

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ἰσχυρῶς ἐπόνησε. τά τε γὰρ ὄρη ἐκεῖνα ἀποτομώτατά ἐστι καὶ ἡ χιὼν πολλὴ γενομένη καὶ τὰς φάραγγας ὑπ' ἀνέμων πληρώσασα καὶ ὁ κρύσταλλος ἰσχυρότατα παγεὶς δεινῶς σφᾶς ἐταλαιπώρησε· καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν ὑπό τε τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ ὑπὸ σιτοδείας ἀπώλοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ οἴκαδε ἀνεχώρησαν. ἔχει δὲ λόγος ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέστρεψεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ πλείων καὶ ἀπορωτέρα ἡ προδιηνυσμένη ὁδὸς τῆς λειπομένης ἐτύγχανε. διὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπετράπετο, ἐξαπίνης δὲ ἐκτὸς τῶν Ἄλπεων ἐκφανεὶς θαῦμα καὶ δέος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνέβαλε.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν προεχώρει τὰ ἐν ποσὶ προσποιούμενος, Σκιπίων δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν Γάιον Σκιπίωνα ὑποστρατηγοῦντα αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἔπεμψεν ὡς καταληψόμενον αὐτὴν ἢ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐπανάξοντα. αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἤλασε. καὶ ἡμέρας μέν τινας ἐπέσχον, ἔπειτα ἄμφω πρὸς τὴν μάχην ὥρμησαν. πρὶν δὲ δὴ ἔργου ἔχεσθαι, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁ Ἀννίβας παρήγαγε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, οὓς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν εἰλήφει, καὶ ἤρετο αὐτοὺς πότερον δεδέσθαι καὶ δουλεύειν

[1] Ἀννίβας Mai, ἀννίβαλ Ms. (and so in a few other places).

Hannibal before beginning the struggle called together the soldiers and brought in the captives whom he had taken by the way; then he asked the latter whether they wished to undergo imprisonment in fetters and to endure a grievous slavery or

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with grievous hardships. For the mountains there are exceedingly precipitous, and the snow, which had fallen in great quantities, was driven by the winds and filled the chasms, and the ice was frozen very hard. These circumstances combined to cause his soldiers fearful suffering, and many of them perished by reason of the cold and lack of food; many also returned home. There is a story to the effect that he himself would also have turned back but for the fact that the road already traversed was longer and more difficult than the portion remaining before him. For this reason, then, he did not turn back, but suddenly appearing from out the Alps, spread astonishment and fear among the Romans.

So he advanced, taking possession of whatever lay before him. Scipio sent his brother Gaius[1] Scipio, who was serving as lieutenant under him, into Spain, either to seize and hold it or else to draw Hannibal back. He himself marched against Hannibal; and after waiting a few days they both advanced to the contest. But before beginning the struggle, Hannibal called together the soldiers and brought in the captives whom he had taken by the way; he asked the latter whether they preferred to undergo imprisonment and to endure a grievous

[1] Gnaeus Scipio is meant wherever Zonaras writes this form.

κακῶς ἢ μονομαχῆσαι ἀλλήλοις, ὥστ' ἀφεθῆναι προῖκα τοὺς νικήσαντας, ἐθέλοιεν. ἐπειδή τε τοῦθ' εἵλοντο, συνέβαλεν αὐτούς, καὶ μαχεσαμένων σφῶν εἶπεν "εἶτ' οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τούτους μὲν τοὺς ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἑαλωκότας οὕτω πρὸς τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἔχειν ὥστε καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ δουλεῦσαι ἐπιθυμῆσαι, ἡμᾶς δ' ὀκνῆσαι πόνον τινὰ καὶ κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν ἑτέρων καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἄρχειν ἄλλων ὑποστῆναι;"—M. 147 (p. 192).

5 Ὅσα ἐλαττωθέντες ποτὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπάθομεν, ταῦτα νικήσαντες αὐτοὺς ἀντιδράσομεν· εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι[1] κρατήσαντες μὲν πάντων ὧν λέγω τευξόμεθα, κρατηθέντες δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν διαφυγὴν ἀσφαλῆ σχήσομεν· τοῦ τε γὰρ κρατήσαντος τὸ πᾶν παραχρῆμα φίλιόν ἐστι, κἂν μισοῦν αὐτὸ τυγχάνῃ, καὶ τὸ νικηθὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ τῶν οἰκείων ἔτι θεραπεύει.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 157r (M. p. 543) and M. 148 (p. 192) (ὅτι τοῦ κρατήσαντος—θεραπεύει).

6a Ὅτι τὸ ἅπαξ προσπταῖσαν πρός τινας ἀεί τε δυσωπεῖταί σφας καὶ θαρρεῖν οὐκέτι τολμᾷ.—M. 149 (p. 192).

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κακῶς βούλοιντο ἢ μονομαχῆσαι ἀλλήλοις, ὥστ' ἀφεθῆναι προῖκα τοὺς νικήσαντας. καὶ ὡς τὸ δεύτερον εἵλοντο, συνέβαλεν αὐτούς. καὶ μαχεσαμένων ἐδημηγόρησε, τοὺς οἰκείους στρατιώτας ἐπιρρωννὺς καὶ παραθήγων εἰς πόλεμον· τοῦτο δ'

[1] ὅτι supplied by Bs.

to fight in single combat with one another on condition that the victors should be released without ransom. When they chose the second alternative, he set them to fighting. And at the end of the contest he said: "Now is it not shameful, soldiers, when these men who have been captured by us are so brave as to be eager to die in place of becoming slaves, that we on the other hand, shrink from incurring a little toil and danger for the sake of not being subservient to others—yes, and of ruling them besides?"

All the sufferings that we have ever endured when defeated by the enemy we will inflict upon them if we are victorious. For be well assured that by conquering we shall obtain all the benefits that I mention, but if conquered we shall not even have a safe means of escape. The victor straightway finds everything friendly, even if possibly it hates him, whereas to the vanquished no one any longer pays heed—not even those of his own household.

Those who have once failed in an enterprise against their foes are forever abashed before them and no longer venture to assume a bold front.

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slavery or to fight in single combat with one another on condition that the victors should be released without ransom. When they chose the second alternative, he set them to fighting. And at the end of the contest he addressed his soldiers, encouraging them and whetting their eagerness for

ἑτέρωθεν καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐποίησεν. εἶτα συνῆλθον μὲν ὡς ὅλοις τοῖς στρατοπέδοις μαχούμενοι, ὁ Σκιπίων δέ, προσυμμίξας τῷ ἱππικῷ καὶ ἡττηθεὶς συχνούς τε ἀποβαλὼν καὶ αὐτὸς τρωθείς, ἀποθανών τ' ἄν, εἰ μή περ αὐτῷ Σκιπίων ὁ υἱὸς καίπερ ὢν ἑπτακαιδεκαέτης ἐπήμυνε, κατέδεισε μὴ καὶ τῷ πεζῷ σφαλῇ, καὶ αὐτίκα τε ἐπανήγαγε καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπεχώρησεν.

24. Ἀννίβας δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν τὴν ἀποχώρησιν αὐτοῦ μαθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἠριδανὸν ἦλθε, καὶ μήτε σχεδίας ἢ πλοῖα εὑρών (ἐνεπέπρηστο γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος), τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν Μάγωνα σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι διανήξασθαι καὶ ἐπιδιῶξαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄνω πρὸς τὰς πηγὰς χωρήσας τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας κατὰ τὸν ἐπίρρουν διαβῆναι προσέταξε. καὶ οὕτω τοῦ ὕδατος περὶ τοῖς ὄγκοις τῶν ζῴων ἐμποδιζομένου καὶ σκεδαννυμένου, ῥᾷον κάτω σφῶν διεπεραιώθη. καταληφθεὶς οὖν ὁ Σκιπίων κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε, καὶ ἐμαχέσατ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ νυκτὸς οἱ Γαλάται οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ηὐτομόλησαν. ὁ δ' οὖν Σκιπίων ἐπὶ τούτῳ ταραχθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τραύματος ταλαιπωρήσας ὑπὸ νύκτα αὖθις ἐξανέστη καὶ ἐπὶ μετεώρου τὸ τάφρευμα ἐποιήσατο· δίωξις δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐγένετο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀφίκοντο καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν διὰ μέσου ποιησάμενοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Σκιπίων διά τε τὸ τραῦμα καὶ διὰ τὰ συμβεβηκότα ἀνεῖχε καὶ δύναμιν μετεπέμπετο, Ἀννίβας δὲ πολλὰ πειράσας παρακινῆσαι πρὸς μάχην αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ οὔτε τοῦτ' ἠδυνήθη καὶ τροφῆς

war. Scipio also did the same on the Roman side. Then they began the contest in the intention of fighting with their entire armies; but Scipio in a preliminary cavalry skirmish was defeated, lost many men, was wounded, and would have been killed, had not his son Scipio, though only seventeen years old, come to his aid; he was consequently alarmed lest his infantry should meet with a similar reverse, and he at once fell back and that night withdrew from the field.

24. Hannibal learning at daybreak of his withdrawal proceeded to the Po, and when he found there neither rafts nor boats—for they had been burned by Scipio—he ordered his brother Mago to swim across with the cavalry and pursue the Romans, whereas he himself marched up toward the sources of the river, and then ordered that the elephants should cross down stream. In this manner, while the water was temporarily dammed and spread out by the animals' bulk, he effected a crossing more easily below them. Scipio, overtaken, stood his ground and would have offered battle but for the fact that by night the Gauls in his army deserted. Embarrassed by this occurrence and still suffering from his wound, he once more broke camp at nightfall and located his entrenchments on high ground. He was not pursued; but later the Carthaginians came up and encamped with the river between the two forces.

Scipio, on account of his wound and because of what had taken place, was inclined to wait and send for reinforcements; and Hannibal, after many attempts to provoke him to battle, finding that he

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ἐσπάνισε, φρουρίῳ προσέβαλεν ἐν ᾧ σῖτος πολὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔκειτο. καὶ μηδὲν περαίνων, τὸν φρούραρχον διέφθειρε χρήμασι, κἀκεῖνό τε προδοθὲν ἔλαβε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σχεῖν τὰ μὲν ὅπλοις, τὰ δὲ χρυσίῳ ἐπήλπισε. κἂν τούτῳ ὁ Λόγγος τὴν Σικελίαν τῷ ὑποστρατήγῳ πιστεύσας πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα κεκλημένος ἀφίκετο. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας, καὶ ὅτι τινὰς κατατρέχοντας τὴν χώραν ἐκράτησεν, εἰς παράταξιν ὥρμησεν. καὶ ἐσφάλη ἐνέδραις περιπεσών· καὶ τοῦ Ἀννίβου ἐπεξελθόντος μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων, οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐτράπησαν εἰς φυγήν, καὶ πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν φόνῳ, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπερισκέπτως ἐμπεσόντες ἐπνίγησαν, ὡς ὀλίγους μετὰ τοῦ Λόγγου περισωθῆναι. νικήσας μέντοι ὁ Ἀννίβας οὐκ ἔχαιρεν, ὅτι στρατιώτας τε πολλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας πλὴν ἑνὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τῶν τραυμάτων ἀπέβαλεν.

Ἀνοχὴν οὖν ἄσπονδον ποιησάμενοι πρὸς τὴν συμμαχίδα σφῶν ἑκάτεροι ἐχώρησαν, κἂν ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν ἐχείμαζον. καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἄφθονα ἐφοίτα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὁ δ᾽ Ἀννίβας οὐκ ἀρκούμενος τοῖς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων διδομένοις ταῖς τε κώμαις καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων προσπίπτων τὰ μὲν ἐκράτει, τῶν[1] δ᾽ ἀπεκρούετο. καί ποτε τῷ ἱππικῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λόγγου νικηθεὶς ἐτρώθη. θαρσήσαντες οὖν ἐκ τούτου τινὲς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ καθ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς προσβάλλοντι αὐτοῖς ἐπεξῆλθον. κἀκείνους τε ἔφθειρε καὶ τοῦ χωρίου

[1] τῶν Bs., τὰ Mss.

BOOK XIV

Zonaras 8, 24.

could not do this and that he was short of provisions, attacked a fort where a large supply of food was stored for the Romans. As he made no headway, he used money to bribe the commander of the garrison, and thus got possession of the place by betrayal. He hoped also to capture the other points, partly by arms and partly by gold. Meanwhile Longus had entrusted Sicily to his lieutenant and had come in response to Scipio's call. Not much later, influenced by ambition, on the one hand, and also by the fact of a victory over some marauders, he presented himself in battle array. But he lost the day by falling into an ambuscade; and when Hannibal attacked him with his infantry and elephants, the followers of Longus turned to flight and many were put to the sword, while many others, heedless of the river, fell in and were drowned, so that only a few were saved with Longus. And yet Hannibal, though victorious, was not happy, because he had lost many soldiers and all his elephants except one by reason of the cold and their wounds.

Accordingly, they arranged an armistice without any formal pledges, and both sides retired to the territory of their allies and passed the winter in the cities there. Abundant provisions kept coming to the Romans; but Hannibal, not satisfied with the contributions of the allies, made frequent raids upon the Roman villages and cities, sometimes conquering, sometimes being repulsed. Once he was beaten by Longus and his cavalry and received a wound. Some of the Romans, encouraged by this, came out by themselves to oppose him when he assailed them. These he destroyed and received the capitulation of

6[b] Κοῦφον[1] γάρ τι καὶ δειλὸν καὶ ἄπιστον φύσει πᾶν τὸ Γαλατικὸν γένος ἐστίν· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἑτοίμως θρασύνεται πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας, οὕτως ἑτοιμότερον φοβηθὲν ἐκπλήττεται· πιστότερόν τ' οὐδὲν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ὃν[2] τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἐκδιδάξει τε μηδέποτε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐμβάλλειν τολμῆσαι . . .—M. 150 (p. 192).

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ὁμολογίᾳ ἐκράτησε· καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν κατέσκαψε, τῶν δ' αἰχμαλώτων τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίους ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀφῆκε. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἅπασι τοῖς ζωγρουμένοις ἐποίει, τὰς πόλεις δι' αὐτῶν οἰκειούμενος. ἀμέλει καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Γαλατῶν πολλοὶ καὶ Λιγύων καὶ Τυρσηνῶν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντας οἱ μὲν φονεύσαντες, οἱ δὲ ἐκδόντες μετέστησαν.

Ἐς δὲ τὴν Τυρσηνίδα τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ πορευομένῳ ὁ Λόγγος ἐπέθετο, χειμῶνος πολλοῦ γενομένου. πεσόντων δὲ ἀμφοτέροις πολλῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐς τὴν Λιγυστικὴν ἐλθὼν ἐνδιέτριψεν. ὑποπτεύων δὲ καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους οὐδενὶ ῥᾳδίως ἐπίστευεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐσθῆτά τε μεταβάλλων καὶ κόμαις χρώμενος περιθέτοις τήν τε διάλεξιν ἄλλοτε ἄλλην ποιούμενος (ᾔδει γὰρ πλείους καὶ τὴν τῶν Λατίνων), καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν πολλὰ ἐπεσκόπει ἤκουέ τε πλεῖστα ὡς οὐκ Ἀννίβας καί τινα ὡς ἕτερός τις ἐφθέγγετο.

25. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο, ὁ δ' ἕτερος Σκιπίων ὁ Γάιος εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν παρέ-

[1] κοῦφον Mai (conjecture), π . . ν Ms. acc. to Bs., π . . π . . acc. to v. Herw.

[2] Καρχηδονίοις ὃν supplied by Bs., Ms. illegible.

For the whole Gallic race is naturally more or less fickle, cowardly, and faithless. Just as they are readily emboldened in the face of hopes, so even the more readily when frightened do they fall into a panic. And the fact that they were no more faithful to the Carthaginians will not only teach the rest of mankind a lesson never to dare to invade Italy . . .

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the place, which he razed to the ground. Of the captives taken he killed the Romans, but released the rest. This he did also in the case of all those taken alive, hoping to conciliate the cities by their influence. And, indeed, many of the other Gauls as well as Ligurians and Etruscans either murdered the Romans dwelling within their borders, or surrendered them and then transferred their allegiance.

As Hannibal was advancing into Etruria Longus attacked him in the midst of a great storm. Many fell on both sides, and Hannibal entered Liguria, where he delayed some time. Being suspicious of even his own men and feeling free to trust no one, he made frequent changes of costume, wore false hair, and spoke different languages at different times (for he knew a number, including Latin); and both night and day he would make frequent rounds of inspection, listening to a great deal of conversation in the guise of an entirely different person from Hannibal, and occasionally talking thus in character.

25. While this was going on in Italy the other Scipio, Gaius, had sailed along the coast to Spain,

7 Ὅτι[1] πολλὰ τέρατα τὰ μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς συμβάντα, τὰ δὲ καὶ μάτην θρυλούμενα ἐλογοποιήθη· ὅταν γάρ τινες ἰσχυρῶς φοβηθῶσιν καί σφισι καὶ ἐκεῖνα ὡς ὄντως γενόμενα ἀποδειχθῇ, πολλάκις ἕτερα προσφαντάζεται· κἂν ἅπαξ τι καὶ ἐκείνων πιστευθῇ, προπετῶς ἤδη καὶ τἆλλα πίστιν λαμβάνει. ἐθύοντο οὖν αἱ θυσίαι καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα οἱ ἄνθρωποι πρός τε την τοῦ παρόντος δεινοῦ σφισιν ἄκεσιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὑποπτευομένου διάφευξιν εἰώθασι ποιεῖν ἐγίγνετο. ἀλλά καὶ γὰρ φιλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις παρὰ τὸ κρεῖττον ἐλπίζοντες πιστεῦσαι, καὶ τότε, εἰ καὶ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ τοῦ προσδοκωμένου κινδύνου μέγεθος ἐνόμιζον ὅτι καὶ τὸ τραχύτατον αὐτοῖς συμπέσοι, ὅμως ἤλπιζον μὴ ἡττηθήσεσθαι.—M. 151 (p. 192).

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πλευσε, καὶ τὰ παραθαλάσσια αὐτῆς μέχρι τοῦ Ἴβηρος πάντα καὶ τῶν ἄνω συχνὰ τὰ μὲν βίᾳ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἑκόντα προσείληφε, καὶ τὸν Βάννωνα μάχῃ νικήσας ἐζώγρησεν. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἀννίβου ὁμαίμων Ἀσδρούβας μαθὼν ταῦτα διέβη τὸν Ἴβηρα, καὶ τῶν μεταστάντων τινὰς ὑπηγάγετο· τοῦ δὲ Σκιπίωνος ἐπελθόντος αὐτῷ ἀνεχώρησεν.

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὸν Φλαμίνιον καὶ τὸν Γέμινον[2] ὑπάτους αὖθις εἵλοντο. Ἀννίβας δ' ἄρτι τοῦ ἔαρος ἐπιστάντος ὡς ἔγνω τὸν Φλαμίνιον

[1] Many words of this fragment were illegible even to Mai. It is here printed as restored tentatively by Bs.

[2] Γέμινον Pinder, γεμίνιον A, γάιον BC[c].

Many portents, some of which had actually occurred and others which were mere idle talk, became the subject of conversation. For when people get seriously frightened and certain portents are proved to them really to have occurred, oftentimes others are imagined. And if once any one of the former class is believed, immediately the rest likewise are rashly accepted as true. Accordingly, the sacrifices were offered and all the other rites observed which men are in the habit of performing for the cure of their momentary terror and for escape from expected disaster. But most men are wont to trust hopefully in such agencies, contrary to their true interest; and so at this time, even though, because of the magnitude of the danger anticipated, they believed more strongly than ever that the harshest fate would befall them, they still kept hoping that they might not be defeated. B.C. 217

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and had won over, partly by force and partly without opposition, all the districts that border on the sea as far as the Iberus, and many parts of the interior as well. He had also defeated Banno in battle and had taken him prisoner. Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, on learning of this, crossed the Iberus and reduced some of the rebels; but when Scipio advanced against him, he withdrew.

The people of Rome again chose Flaminius and Geminus consuls. At the very beginning of spring Hannibal was apprised that Flaminius together with B.C. 217

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μετὰ τοῦ Σερουιλίου Γεμίνου χειρὶ πολλῇ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰόντα, πρὸς ἐξαπάτην αὐτῶν ἐτράπη, καὶ πλαττόμενος ἐνδιατρίψειν ἐκεῖ καὶ μάχην συνάψειν, ἐπεὶ νομίσαντες αὐτὸν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ χώραν μένειν ἀμελῶς τῶν ὁδῶν ἔσχον, ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοὺς ἱππέας κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δ' ὑπὸ νύκτα ἄρας τά τε στενόπορα μεθ' ἡσυχίας διῆλθε καὶ πρὸς Ἀρίτιον ἠπείγετο· καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς δέ, ἐπεὶ πολὺ προῆλθεν, ἀπῄεσαν αὐτῷ ἐφεπόμενοι. οἱ δ' ὕπατοι γνόντες ἠπατημένοι, Γέμινος μὲν αὐτοῦ ὑπέμεινε τούς τ' ἀφεστηκότας κακώσων καὶ κωλύσων ἐπικουρῆσαι Καρχηδονίοις, Φλαμίνιος δὲ μόνος ἐδίωκεν, ἵν' αὐτοῦ μόνου τὸ ἔργον τῆς νίκης, ὡς ᾤετο, γένηται. καὶ τὸ Ἀρίτιον προκατέλαβεν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀννίβας συντομωτέραν τραπόμενος δυσόδοις ἐνέτυχε, καὶ ἀνθρώπους συχνοὺς καὶ πολλὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπέβαλεν. ὀψὲ δ' οὖν πρὸς τὸ Ἀρίτιον ἐλθών, καὶ εὑρὼν ἐκεῖ τὸν Φλαμίνιον, κατεφρόνησεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μάχῃ μὲν οὐ συνέβαλε, τὸ γὰρ χωρίον ἀνεπιτήδειόν οἱ ἐδόκει, πεῖραν δὲ αὐτοῦ ποιούμενος ἔκειρε τὴν χώραν. κἀν τούτῳ ἐπεκδραμόντων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπανήγαγεν, ἵνα φοβεῖσθαι δόξῃ. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἐξαναστάς, ἐπιτήδειόν τι χωρίον πρὸς τὴν μάχην εὑρὼν ἔμεινε. καὶ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ τὸ πλεῖον κατὰ τὰ ὄρη λοχᾶν ἔταξε, τὸ δ' ἱππικὸν σύμπαν ἔξω τῶν στενῶν ἀφανῶς ἐφεδρεύειν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ γηλόφου μετ' ὀλίγων ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. ὁ δὲ Φλαμίνιος ἐν φρονήματι ὤν, καὶ ἐπὶ μετεώρου σὺν ὀλίγοις αὐτὸν ἰδών, τήν τε

BOOK XIV

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Servilius Geminus was advancing against him with a large force, and he set himself to deceiving them. He pretended that he was going to tarry there and offer battle, and when the Romans, thinking that he would remain in his present position, became careless in guarding the roads, he set out at nightfall, leaving his cavalry behind in camp, quietly traversed the passes, and hastened on toward Arretium; and the cavalry, after he had got far ahead, set out to follow him. When the consuls found they had been tricked, Geminus stayed behind to harass those who had revolted and prevent them from assisting the Carthaginians, and Flaminius alone pursued, eager that he alone should have the credit for the expected victory. He succeeded in occupying Arretium first, for Hannibal in taking a shorter route had encountered difficult roads and had lost numerous men, many pack animals, and one of his eyes. It was late, then, when he reached Arretium and found there Flaminius, whom he regarded with contempt. He did not give battle, for the spot seemed to him unsuitable; but by way of testing his enemy he proceeded to lay waste the country. At this the Romans made a sally and he retired, to give them the idea that he was afraid. During the night he withdrew, and finding a satisfactory spot for battle, remained there. He arranged that most of the infantry should form an ambush along the mountain sides, and ordered all the cavalry to lie in wait concealed from view outside the pass; he himself encamped with a few followers on the hilltop. Flaminius was very confident, and when he saw Hannibal with but a few men on the high ground

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λοιπὴν στρατιὰν πόρρω ποι πεπομφέναι νομίσας, ῥᾳδίως μεμονωμένον αἱρήσειν ἤλπισε, καὶ ἐς τὸ στενὸν ἀπερισκέπτως εἰσῆλθε, κἀνταῦθα, ὀψὲ γὰρ ἦν, ηὐλίσατο. καὶ ὑπὸ μέσας νύκτας ὑπὸ καταφρονήσεως αὐτοὺς ἀφυλάκτως καθεύδοντας πανταχόθεν ὁμοῦ περιέσχον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ πόρρωθεν ἀκοντίοις καὶ σφενδόναις καὶ τοξεύμασι τοὺς μὲν εὐναζομένους ἔτι, τοὺς δὲ τὰ ὅπλα λαμβάνοντας ἔκτεινον, αὐτοὶ μή τι δεινὸν ἀντιπάσχοντες. οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι, μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς συμπλεκομένου, σκότους τε καὶ ὁμίχλης οὔσης, οὐκ εἶχον τῇ σφετέρᾳ χρήσασθαι ἀρετῇ. τοσοῦτος δ' ἐγένετο θόρυβος καὶ τοιαύτη ταραχώδης ἔκπληξις κατέσχεν αὐτοὺς ὡς μηδὲ τῶν σεισμῶν τῶν τότε γενομένων αἰσθέσθαι, καίπερ πολλὰ μὲν οἰκοδομήματα κατερράγη, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀρῶν τὰ μὲν διέσχε, τὰ δὲ καὶ συνέπεσεν, ὡς καὶ τὰς φάραγγας ἐμφράξαι, καὶ ποταμοὶ δὲ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐξόδου ἀποκλεισθέντες ἄλλην ἐτράποντο. τοιοῦτοι μὲν σεισμοὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίδα κατέσχον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ οἱ μαχόμενοι ἐν ἐννοίᾳ σφῶν ἐγένοντο. αὐτός τε οὖν ὁ Φλαμίνιος καὶ ἄλλοι παμπληθεῖς ἔπεσον, συχνοὶ δὲ ἐπί τινα λόφον ἀνέβησαν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν, καὶ καταληφθέντες τά τε ὅπλα καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπ' ἀδείᾳ παρέδοσαν. ὅ γε μὴν Ἀννίβας βραχὺ τῶν ὁμωμοσμένων ἐφρόντισε, πάντων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἁλόντων τὸ μὲν ὑπήκοον τό τε συμμαχικὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀφῆκεν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐκείνους δήσας ἐφύλασσε. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο, καὶ μέχρι μὲν Ναρνίας τήν τε γῆν

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he believed that the rest of the army had been sent to some distant point, and hoped to take him easily while thus isolated. So he carelessly entered the mouth of the pass and there, since it was late, pitched camp. About midnight, when the Romans were sleeping unguarded, through scorn of their enemies, the Carthaginians surrounded them on every side at once, and by using from a distance javelins, slings, and arrows they killed some who were still in their beds and others who were just seizing their arms, without receiving themselves any serious harm in return. For the Romans, having no tangible adversaries and with darkness and mist prevailing, found no opportunity to make use of their valour. So great was the uproar and such the confusion and alarm that seized them, that they were not even aware of the earthquakes then occurring, although many buildings fell in ruins and many mountains either were cleft asunder or collapsed so that they blocked up the ravines, and rivers shut off from their ancient outlets turned elsewhere. Such were the earthquakes which overwhelmed Etruria, yet the combatants were not conscious of them. Both Flaminius himself and a vast number of others fell, though not a few managed to climb a hill. When it became day, these turned to flight, but being overtaken, surrendered themselves and their arms on promise of pardon. Hannibal, however, recking little of his oaths, kept those who were Romans in chains, but released their subjects and allies from among all the captives he had in his army. After this success he hastened toward Rome and proceeded as far as Narnia, devastating the country and winning

8 Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δικτάτορα τὸν Φάβιον ἀνεῖπον,[1] ἀγαπῶντες εἰ αὐτοί γε περιγένοιντο[2] οὐδὲ τοῖς συμμάχοις βοήθειαν ἀπέστειλαν οὐδεμίαν[3] οὐδὲ εστη . . . . , πυθόμενοι δὲ τὸν Ἀννίβαν τῆς τε ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὁδοῦ ἀποτετράφθαι

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τέμνων καὶ τὰς πόλεις προσαγόμενος πλὴν Σπωλητίου προῆλθε, Γαιόν τε ἐνταῦθα Κεντήνιον στρατηγὸν ἐνεδρεύοντα περισχὼν ἔφθειρεν· ὡς δὲ τῷ Σπωλητίῳ προσβαλὼν ἀπεκρούσθη, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ναείρου γέφυραν καθῃρημένην εἶδε, καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς οὓς ἀναγκαῖον ἦν διελθεῖν τοῦτο γεγονὸς ἐπύθετο, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὁρμῆς ἐπέσχεν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Καμπανίαν ἐτράπετο, τήν τε χώραν ἀρίστην καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Καπύην μεγίστην οὖσαν ἀκούων ἐνόμιζεν, εἰ σφᾶς προκαταλάβοι, καὶ τἆλλα δι' ὀλίγου προσκτήσασθαι.

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πυθόμενοι περὶ τῆς ἥττης ἤλγησαν, καὶ δι' ἐκείνους καὶ δι' ἑαυτοὺς ὀδυρόμενοι, καὶ ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἦσαν, τάς τε γεφύρας τοῦ Τιβέριδος πλὴν μιᾶς καθεῖλον καὶ τὰ τείχη πολλαχῇ πεπονηκότα σπουδῇ ἐπεσκεύαζον. δικτάτορά τε προχειρίσασθαι βουληθέντες αὐτοὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτὸν ἀνεῖπον. ἀγαπῶντες δὲ εἰ αὐτοὶ μόνοι σωθεῖεν, οὐκ ἔστειλαν τοῖς συμμάχοις βοήθειαν. πυθόμενοι δὲ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐς Καμπανίαν ὁρμηθῆναι, τότε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐπικουρῆσαι ἔγνωσαν. τῷ δ' Ἀννίβᾳ τὸν δικτάτορα τὸν Φάβιον

[1] Ῥωμαῖοι δικτάτορα τὸν Φάβιον ἀνεῖπον suggested by Bs., ὅτι οἱ δικτάτωρες . . . read by Mai. [2] περιγένοιντο Bs., περιεγένοντο Ms. [3] τοῖς συμμάχοις βοήθειαν ἀπέστειλαν οὐδεμίαν Bs. from Zon., Ms. nearly illegible.

The Romans proclaimed Fabius dictator, content if they could themselves survive, and neither sent any aid to the allies nor . . . but learning that Hannibal had turned aside from the road leading to Rome and had set out for Campania,

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over the cities, with the exception of Spoletium; there he surrounded and slew the praetor Gaius Centenius, who was lying in ambush. He made an attack upon Spoletium, but was repulsed, and as he saw that the bridge over the Nar had been destroyed, and ascertained that this had been done also in the case of the other rivers which he would have to cross, he desisted from his advance upon Rome. Instead, he turned aside into Campania, for he heard that the land was most excellent and that Capua was a very great city, and thought that if he should first seize these he might acquire the rest of Italy also in a short time.

The people of Rome, when informed of the defeat, were grieved and lamented both for the lost and for themselves. They were in sore straits and tore down the bridges over the Tiber, with one exception, and proceeded hurriedly to repair their walls, which were damaged in many places. And wishing to have a dictator in readiness, they proclaimed one themselves in the assembly. Content, however, if they alone could be saved, they had sent no aid to the allies; but now, learning that Hannibal had set out for Campania, they determined to assist the allies also. To Hannibal they opposed the dictator Fabius

καὶ ἐς Καμπανίαν ὡρμῆσθαι, τότε δὴ καὶ ἐκείνους, μή πως εἴτε ἑκούσιοι εἴτε βιασθέντες μεταστῶσιν,[1] ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἐποιήσαντο.—M. 152 (p. 193).

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καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον τὸν Μάρκον τὸν Μινούκιον ἀντικατέστησαν. οἳ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον ἐλθόντες ἐς μὲν χεῖρας αὐτῷ οὐκ ᾔεσαν, παρεπόμενοι δὲ ἐπετήρουν εἴ που καιρὸς μάχης παραπέσοι· ἀποκινδυνεῦσαι γὰρ ὁ Φάβιος κατεπτηχόσι στρατιώταις καὶ ἡττημένοις πρὸς πλείους καὶ νενικηκότας οὐκ ἤθελε, καὶ ἅμα ὅσῳ μᾶλλον τὴν χώραν κακώσειαν, τοσούτῳ θᾶσσον ἀπορῆσαι τροφῆς αὐτοὺς ἤλπισε. τοιούτοις χρώμενος λογισμοῖς οὔτ' ἄλλῃ χώρᾳ ἐπήμυνεν οὔτε τῇ Καμπανίᾳ. κατέκλεισεν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα πᾶν τὸ πολέμιον εἰς τὴν Καμπανίαν· περισχὼν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἁπανταχόθεν οὐκ εἰδότας ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιήσατο. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ κἀκ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐκ τῆς συμμαχίδος τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εὐπόρει, ἐκείνοις δὲ μόνα τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἣν ἔκειρον ὑπάρχοντα ᾔδει. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνεῖχε καὶ τῆς μελλήσεως οὐκ ἐφρόντιζε. διὸ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν αἰτίαν εἶχεν, ὡς καὶ μελλητὴς ἐπονομασθῆναι.

26. Ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας, ἐπεὶ πρὸς χειμῶνα ἐγίνετο, καὶ οὔτε κατὰ χώραν χειμάσαι σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἠδύνατο καὶ πολλαχῇ πειράσας ἐξιέναι τῆς Καμπανίας κεκώλυτο, τοιοῦτόν τι ἐμηχανήσατο. τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πάντας, ἵνα μή τις αὐτῶν διαφύγῃ καὶ τὸ γινόμενον γνωρίσῃ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, κατέσφαξε· καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ

[1] ἐκείνους, μή πως . . . μεταστῶσιν Kuebler, ἐκεῖνοι σιωπῶς . . . μετάστασιν Mai (and Ms.?). εἴτε . . . εἴτε Bs., μήτε . . . μήτε Mai (and Ms.?).

they made sure of the safety of those allies also, through fear that they might change sides either willingly or under compulsion.

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and the master of horse Marcus Minucius. These leaders set out in his direction, but did not come to close quarters with him; they followed and kept him in view, in the hope that a favourable opportunity for battle might sometime occur. Fabius was unwilling to risk a conflict with cowed and beaten soldiers against a greater number who had been victorious. Furthermore, he hoped that the more his foes should injure the country, the sooner they would be in want of food. In view of these considerations he did not defend Campania or any other district. As a result, he confined hostilities entirely within Campania; for, unknown to the enemy, he had surrounded them on every side and now kept guard over them. He himself secured an abundance of provisions both from the sea and from the territory of the allies, but the invaders, he knew, had only the products of the land which they were devastating to depend upon. Consequently he waited and did not mind the delay; and he was therefore blamed by his fellow-citizens, who even gave him the name of Delayer.

26. When it came to be nearly winter and Hannibal could not pass that season where he was, owing to the lack of necessary supplies, and yet had been checked in numerous attempts to get out of Campania, he devised a plan of the following nature. He first slew all the captives, that no one of them might escape and acquaint the Romans with what was being done. Then he collected the cattle

9 Ὅτι ὁ Φάβιος δι' ἀσφαλείας μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ κινδύνων προσεδρεύων οὔτε πεῖραν λαβεῖν ἀνδρῶν χειροτεχνῶν τοῦ πολέμου ὄντων[1] ἐτόλμα, καὶ ἐν πολλῇ περιωπῇ τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ[2] διὰ τὴν πολιτῶν ὀλιγαν-

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βοῦς ἀθροίσας δᾷδας τοῖς αὐτῶν προσέδησε κέρασι, καὶ πρὸς τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σαυνίτας ὄρη ὑπὸ νύκτα χωρήσας τάς τε δᾷδας ἀνῆψε καὶ τὰς βοῦς ἐπετάραξεν. οἰστρηθεῖσαι δ' ἐκεῖναι διὰ τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὴν ἔλασιν πολλαχῇ τὴν ὕλην ἐνέπρησαν, κἀκ τούτου ῥᾳδίαν παρέσχον αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπέρβασιν. οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις, ἐνέδρας πτοηθέντες, οὐκ ἐκινήθησαν. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Ἀννίβας διῆλθε καὶ ἐς τὴν Σαυνίτιδα ἐκομίσθη.

Ὁ οὖν Φάβιος μεθ' ἡμέραν τὸ γενόμενον γνοὺς κατεδίωξε, καὶ τούς τε καταλελειμμένους ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἵνα σφᾶς εἴρξωσι, τρεψάμενος, καὶ τοὺς βοηθήσαντας αὐτοῖς κρατήσας, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν οὐ πόρρω τῶν πολεμίων, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἐκείνοις ἦλθεν, ἀλλ' ἀποσκίδνασθαί τε αὐτοὺς καὶ προνομεύειν ἐκώλυεν· ὥστε τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἀπορήσαντα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὁρμῆσαι. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐμάχετο, δι' ἡσυχίας δὲ παρηκολούθει ὁ Φάβιος, αὖθις ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸ Σαύνιον. καὶ ὁ Φάβιος αὐτῷ ἐφεπόμενος δι' ἀσφαλείας προσήδρευε, προμηθούμενος μήτε τῶν οἰκείων ἀποβαλεῖν τινας, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τῶν ἀναγ-

[1] προσεδρεύων . . . πεῖραν λαβεῖν ἀνδρῶν . . . ὄντων Bs., προσηδρεύετο . . . συμβαλεῖν ἀνδράσι . . . οὖσιν Mai: Ms. uncertain, except οντ.ν at end. [2] καὶ added by Bk.

BOOK XIV

Fabius continued to keep watch on him from a safe distance instead of by running risks; he would not venture to make trial of men skilled in the art of war, and he made the safety of the soldiers a matter of great solicitude, particularly in

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Zonaras 8, 26.

which were in camp, attached torches to their horns, and proceeded at nightfall toward the mountains on the Samnite border, where he lighted the torches and stampeded the cattle. They, maddened by the fire and by blows, set fire to the forest in many places, and consequently rendered it easy for Hannibal to cross the mountains. The Romans in the plain as well as those on the heights were in dread of an ambuscade and would not stir. Thus Hannibal got across and made his way into Samnium.

Fabius, ascertaining the next day what had happened, gave chase and routed those left behind on the road to hinder his men's progress; he also defeated the troops that came to the assistance of the first party. He then encamped not far from the enemy, yet would not come to blows with them. However, he prevented them from scattering and foraging, so that Hannibal, in perplexity, at first set out for Rome; but when Fabius would not fight, but quietly followed along, he again turned back into Samnium. And Fabius, following on, continued to keep watch on him from a safe distance, being anxious not to lose any of his own troops, especially since he

θρωπίαν, ἐποιεῖτο, συμφορὰν οὐ τὸ μὴ φθεῖραι τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἀποβαλεῖν
10 μεγάλην εἶναι νομίζων· ἐκείνους μὲν γὰρ τῇ περιουσίᾳ τοῦ πλήθους κἂν ἀνακινδυνεῦσαί ποτε σφαλέντας ἡγεῖτο, αὐτὸς[1] δ' εἰ καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον πταίσειεν, ἐν[2] παντὶ κακοῦ, οὐ πρὸς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν τότε ἀποθανόντων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πρὶν παθημάτων, γενήσεσθαι ἐλογίζετο· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀκεραίοις πράγμασι καὶ τὰ δεινότατα ῥᾳδίως πολλάκις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑφίστασθαι, τοὺς δὲ προκεκμηκότας καὶ τὰ βραχύτατα κακοῦν ἔλεγεν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ υἱέος συμβουλεύοντός ποτε αὐτῷ ἀποκινδυνεῦσαι, καί τι τοιοῦτον εἰπόντος ὅτι οὐκ ἂν πλείους ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἀπόλοιντο, οὔτε ἐπείσθη, καὶ προσανήρετο αὐτὸν εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν ἐθελήσειε τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι. —M. 153 (p. 193).

14 Ὅτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι οὐχ ὅπως αὐτεπάγγελτοί τι τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ ἔπεμψαν, ἀλλ' ἐν γέλωτί τε αὐτὸν ἐποιοῦντο ὅτι τε εὖ πράττειν καὶ ὅτι πολλὰ

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καίων ἐν εὐπορίᾳ τυγχάνων, ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῶν ὅπλων ἐκτὸς οὐδὲν προσεῖναι ὁρῶν, καὶ μηδ' οἴκοθεν προσιοῦσαν ἐπικουρίαν. οἱ γὰρ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ ἐν γέλωτι αὐτὸν ἐποιοῦντο, γράφοντα εὖ πράττειν

[1] αὐτὸς Bk., αὐτοῦ Ms. [2] ἐν inserted by Bk.

view of the small number of the citizens, deeming it no disaster to fail of destroying the forces of the enemy, but a great one to lose any of his own troops. For he believed the Carthaginians, with their enormous multitude, would risk another encounter, even if once defeated, whereas, if he should lose even the smallest part of his own army, he calculated that he should find himself in every extremity of evil; this would not be due to the number of the dead on any such occasion, but to the magnitude of the previous reverses. He was in the habit of saying that men, so long as their affairs were in a flourishing condition, could often bear easily the severest losses, whereas those who were already exhausted would be harmed by the slightest reverses. Hence, when his son once advised him to risk an encounter, and said something about the loss of not more than a hundred men, he would not consent, and he furthermore asked him whether he would like to be one of the hundred men.

The Carthaginians, far from voluntarily sending any support to Hannibal, were making sport of him, owing to the fact that, although he was con-

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could obtain necessities in abundance, whereas he saw that his foe possessed nothing apart from his weapons and that no assistance was sent to him from home. For the Carthaginians were actually making sport of Hannibal, inasmuch as he wrote of his

κατορθοῦν ἀεί ποτε γράφων σφίσι, καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιώτας παρ' αὐτῶν ᾔτει, λέγοντες μηδὲν ὁμολογεῖν τὰς αἰτήσεις αὐτοῦ ταῖς κατορθώσεσι· τοὺς γὰρ κρατοῦντας προσήκειν καὶ τῷ παρόντι στρατεύματι ἀρκεῖσθαι καὶ χρήματα οἴκαδε πέμπειν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἕτερα πρὸς ἑαυτῶν προσεπαιτεῖν. —M. 154 (p. 194).

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καὶ πολλὰ κατορθοῦν, καὶ στρατιώτας παρ' αὐτῶν αἰτοῦντα καὶ χρήματα, λέγοντες μὴ συμφωνεῖν τὰς αἰτήσεις ταῖς κατορθώσεσι. τοὺς γὰρ νικῶντας προσήκειν καὶ τῷ παρόντι ἀρκεῖσθαι στρατεύματι, καὶ χρήματα στέλλειν οἴκαδε, ἀλλ' οὐ προσαιτεῖν.

Ἕως μὲν οὖν ἐνεδήμει ὁ Φάβιος, δεινὸν οὐδὲν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο, ὡς δ' ἐκεῖνος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπῆρε κατά τι δημόσιον, ἔπταισαν. ὁ γὰρ Ῥοῦφος ὁ ἵππαρχος, φρόνημα κενὸν ὑπὸ νεότητος ἔχων καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν σφαλμάτων ἀπερίοπτος ὢν καὶ τῇ μελλήσει τοῦ Φαβίου ἀχθόμενος, ἐπεὶ τὴν προστασίαν τῆς στρατιᾶς μόνος ἔσχε, τῶν μὲν ἐντολῶν τοῦ δικτάτορος ὠλιγώρησεν, ὁρμήσας δ' εἰς παράταξιν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον νικᾶν ἔδοξεν, εἶτα ἡττήθη. κἂν πανσυδὶ διεφθάρη, εἰ μή τινες Σαυνιτῶν κατὰ τύχην τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπίκουροι ἀφικνούμενοι δόξαν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις παρέσχον προσιέναι τὸν Φάβιον. ἀναχωρησάντων οὖν διὰ τοῦτο κεκρατηκέναι ἐνόμισε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην τὸ ἔργον

tinually writing of his favourable progress and his many successes, he also asked them for money and soldiers. They said his requests did not agree at all with his successes: victors ought to find the army they have sufficient, and ought to send money home instead of demanding still more from them.

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favourable progress and his many successes, and at the same time asked them for soldiers and money. They said his requests did not accord with his successes: conquerors ought to find the army they have sufficient, and to forward money home instead of demanding more.

As long as Fabius was present no disaster happened to the Romans, but when he departed for Rome on some public business, they met with a reverse. Rufus, the master of horse, who possessed the vain conceit of youth, was not observant of the errors of warfare and was angered by the delays of Fabius. Hence, when once he came to hold the command of the army by himself, he disregarded the injunctions of the dictator and hastened to bring on a pitched battle, in which at first he seemed to be victorious, but was soon defeated. Indeed, his force would have been utterly destroyed, had not some Samnites arrived by chance to aid the Romans and impressed the Carthaginians with the idea that Fabius was approaching. When for this reason they retired, he thought that he had vanquished them, and sent messages to Rome

11 Ἔγκλημα γοῦν ἔχω οὐχ ὅτι προπετῶς ἐς τὰς μάχας χωρῶ, οὐδ' ὅτι διὰ κινδύνων στρατηγῶ, ἵνα πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποβαλὼν πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποκτείνας αὐτοκράτωρ τε ὀνομασθῶ καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια πέμψω, ἀλλ' ὅτι βραδύνω καὶ ὅτι μέλλω καὶ ὅτι τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν ἰσχυρῶς ἀεὶ προορῶμαι.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 157ᵛ (M. p. 542.)

18 Ὅτι τοῖς πολλοῖς σύνηθες τοῖς ἀρχομένοις εὖ φέρεσθαι ῥᾳδίως, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων, προστίθεσθαι,[1] διότι τὸ μὲν ἄρτι προφαινόμενον συναύξειν, τὸ δ' ὑπερέχον ἔτι καθαιρεῖν πεφύκασι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐκ πλείονός σφων προφέρουσιν οὐκ ἄν τις ἐξαίφνης παρισωθείη, τὸ δ' ἀδόκητον αὐξηθὲν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐκείνοις ἐς τὴν ὁμοίαν εὐτυχίαν φέρει.—M. 155 (p. 194).

15 Ὅτι Ἀννίβας ἤτοι χαριζόμενος τῷ Φαβίῳ ὡς καὶ ἐπιτηδείῳ σφίσιν ὄντι, ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ διαβολῇ

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μεγαλύνων καὶ τὸν δικτάτορα προσδιαβάλλων ἐπέστειλεν, ὀκνηρὸν καὶ μελλητὴν αὐτὸν καλῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων φρονοῦντα.

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ νενικηκέναι τὸν Ῥοῦφον ὄντως ἐνόμισαν, καὶ οἷα παρὰ δόξαν θαρσήσαντες καὶ ἐπῄνουν αὐτον καὶ ἐτίμων, καὶ τὸν Φάβιον ἐν ὑποψίᾳ σχόντες διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι τὰ ἐν Καμ-

[1] εὖ φέρεσθαι . . . προστίθεσθαι Kuiper, συμφέρεσθαι . . . προστίθενται Ms.

I am under accusation, not because I rush headlong into battles, nor because I risk dangers in my office as general, purposing by losing many soldiers and killing many enemies to be hailed *imperator* and to celebrate a triumph, but because I am slow and because I delay and because I am always providing carefully for your safety.

It is customary for most men readily to assist those who are beginning to be successful, especially with a view to discrediting those already in favour; for it is their nature to help in advancing any force that is just coming to light, but to overthrow what has already obtained preëminence. People cannot, of course, immediately measure themselves with those who are very far ahead of them; but growth in an unexpected quarter brings hope of a like good fortune to those still in obscurity.[1]

Hannibal, either as a favour to Fabius, because he was really of service to them, or perhaps

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magnifying his exploit and also slandering the dictator; he called Fabius timid, a delayer, and a sympathizer with the enemy.

The people of Rome believed that Rufus had really conquered, and in view of this unexpected encouragement they commended and honoured him. They were suspicious of Fabius both because of this affair and because the enemy had not ravaged

[1] Boissevain believes this is from a speech of M. Terentius Varro in favour of equalizing the powers of the dictator and of the master of horse.

αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲν τῶν προσηκόντων οἱ κατέδραμεν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀντιδόσεως τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, ὥσθ' ὁποτέρων ἂν[1] πλείους εὑρεθῶσιν ἀπολυτρωθῆναί σφας, γενομένης, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μὴ βουληθέντων αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου λυτρώσασθαι, τὰ χωρία ὁ Φάβιος ἀποδόμενος τὰ λύτρα αὐτοῖς
16 ἐχαρίσατο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν μὲν[2] οὐκ ἔπαυσαν, τῷ δὲ ἱππάρχῳ τὴν αὐτὴν οἱ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκαν, ὥστ' ἀμφοτέρους ἅμα ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἄρχειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν[2] Φάβιος οὐδεμίαν ὀργὴν οὔτε τοῖς πολίταις οὔτε τῷ Ῥούφῳ ἔσχε· τῶν τε γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων συνεγίγνωσκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀγαπητὸν ἐποιεῖτο εἰ καὶ ὁπωσοῦν περιγένοιντο. τὸ γὰρ κοινὸν σώζεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸς εὐδοξεῖν ἤθελεν, τήν τε ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἑκάστου ψυχῇ εἶναι, καὶ τὸ κρεῖττον τό τε χεῖρον οὐκ ἀπὸ[3] δόγματός τινι ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἐπιστήμης ἢ ἀμαθίας

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πανίᾳ χωρία αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐδῄωσαν, μικροῦ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἂν παρέλυσαν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον μὲν χρήσιμον νομίζοντες εἶναι οὐκ ἔπαυσαν, τῷ δ' ἱππάρχῳ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν προσένειμαν, ὥστ' ἄμφω ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἄρχειν. δοξάντων δὲ τούτων ὁ μὲν Φάβιος οὔτε τοῖς πολίταις οὔτε τῷ Ῥούφῳ ἔσχεν ὀργήν,

[1] ἂν added by Bk. [2] μὲν added by Val.
[3] οὐκ ἀπὸ Val., οὐ Ms.

to create a prejudice against him, did not ravage any of his possessions. Accordingly, when an exchange of captives was effected between the Romans and Carthaginians, with the proviso that any number in excess on either side should be ransomed, and the Romans were unwilling to ransom their men with money from the public treasury, Fabius sold the farms and paid their ransom. Therefore they did not depose him, but gave equal power to his master of horse, so that both held command simultaneously and on an equal footing. Fabius, for his part, cherished no anger against either the citizens or Rufus; he excused them for an act prompted by human nature and was content if in any way they might survive. For he desired the preservation and victory of the commonwealth rather than his own glory; and he believed that excellence depended not on decrees, but on each man's spirit, and that victory or defeat was the result not of any ordinance, but of a man's own wisdom or ignorance.

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his fields in Campania; and it would have taken but little to cause them to deprive him of his command. However, since they believed him useful, they did not depose him, but assigned equal power to his master of horse, so that both held command on an equal footing. When this decree had been passed, Fabius, for his part, cherished no anger against either the citizens or Rufus; but

17 ὑπάρχειν νομίζων. ὁ δὲ δὴ Ῥοῦφος οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ πρὶν ὀρθῶς φρονῶν τότε δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεφύσητο, καὶ κατέχειν ἑαυτόν, ἅτε καὶ τῆς ἀπειθαρχίας ἆθλον τὴν πρὸς τὸν δικτάτορα ἰσομοιρίαν προσλαβών, οὐκ ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' ἡμέραν ἠξίου παρ' ἡμέραν ἢ καὶ πλείους ἐναλλὰξ μόνος ἄρχειν. ὁ δὲ Φάβιος φοβηθεὶς μή τι κακόν σφας, εἰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐγκρατὴς γένοιτο, ἐξεργάσαιτο, πρὸς οὐδέτερον αὐτῷ συνήνεσεν, ἀλλ' ἐνείματο τὸ στράτευμα, ὥστε ἐν ὁμοίῳ τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ ἐκείνους ἰδίαν ἑκάτερον ἰσχὺν ἔχειν. καὶ παραχρῆμα ὁ Ῥοῦφος[1] ἀπεστρατοπεδεύσατο,[2] ἵνα καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ διάδηλος, ὅτι αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτόν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ τῷ δικτάτορι ἄρχοι, γένοιτο.—V. 32 (p. 597).

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ὁ δὲ Ῥοῦφος, οὐδὲ πρὶν ὀρθῶς φρονῶν, τότε μάλιστα ἐπεφύσητο καὶ κατέχειν ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἠδύνατο, ἀλλ' ἡμέραν ἠξίου παρ' ἡμέραν ἢ καὶ πλείους ἐφεξῆς ἐναλλὰξ μόνος ἄρχειν. δείσας δ' ὁ Φάβιος μή τι κακὸν ἐξεργάσηται, εἰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως γένοιτο ἐγκρατής, πρὸς οὐδέτερον αὐτῷ συνήνεσεν, ἀλλ' ἐνείματο τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὥστε τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπ' ἴσης ἰδίαν ἑκάτερον ἰσχὺν ἔχειν. καὶ παραχρῆμα ὁ Ῥοῦφος ἀπεστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἵνα διάδηλος ᾖ ὅτι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἄρχει, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ τῷ δικτάτορι. ὁ οὖν Ἀννίβας τοῦτο αἰσθόμενος ἐς μάχην αὐτὸν ὑπηγάγετο, ὡς ἐπὶ κατα-

[1] ὁ Ῥοῦφος supplied by Melber; cf. Zon.
[2] ἀπεστρατοπεδεύσατο Rk., ἀπεστρατοπεδεύσαντ̊ (= -τος Ms.).

Rufus, however, who had not shown the right spirit in the first place, was now more than ever puffed up and could not contain himself, because he had actually obtained through his insubordination the prize of equal authority with the dictator. And so he kept asking for the right to hold sole command on alternate days, or for several days at a time. Fabius, fearing that he might cause them some mischief if he should get possession of the undivided power, did not consent to either of his proposals, but divided the army in such a way that they also, like the consuls, had each his own force. And immediately Rufus encamped apart, in order to make it clear in a practical way that he was commanding in his own right and not subject to the dictator.

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Rufus, who had not shown the right spirit in the first place, was now especially puffed up and could not contain himself, but kept asking for the right to hold sole command on alternate days or for a period of several days at a time. Fabius, dreading that he might cause some mischief if he should get possession of the undivided power, did not consent to either of his proposals, but divided the army in such a way that each had his own force, in the same manner as did the consuls. And immediately Rufus encamped apart, in order to make it clear that he was commanding in his own right and not subject to the dictator. Hannibal, accordingly, on perceiving this, came up as if to seize a position, and drew him into

19 Ὅτι ὁ Ῥοῦφος ἰσομοιρίαν λαχὼν τῷ δικτάτορι καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων μετεβάλετο (σωφρονίζουσι γάρ πως τοὺς μὴ πάνυ ἀνοήτους αἱ συμφοραί) καὶ ἐθελοντὴς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀφῆκε. καὶ αὐτὸν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάντες ἐπῄνεσαν· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι μὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς τὸ δέον ἔγνω, μεμπτὸς ἐνομίζετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ κατώκνησε μετανοῆσαι,
20 καλῶς ἤκουε. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ πρώτης εὐθὺς τὰ προσήκοντά τινα ἑλέσθαι καὶ εὐτυχίας ἔργον ἡγοῦντο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς πείρας τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ βελτίω μαθόντα μὴ αἰσχυνθῆναι μεταθέσθαι μεγάλως ἐπῄνουν. ὥστε[1] καὶ ἐκ τούτου δειχθῆναι σαφῶς ὅσον ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετή τε ἀληθὴς δοκήσεως διαφέρει· ἃ γοῦν φθόνῳ καὶ

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λήψει χωρίου προσελθών· καὶ περιστοιχισάμενος ἐξ ἐνέδρας εἰς κίνδυνον κατέστησεν ὡς πανστρατιᾷ ἐξελεῖν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Φάβιος κατὰ νώτου αὐτῷ προσπεσὼν ἐκώλυσε.

Παθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Ῥοῦφος μετεβάλετο, καὶ τὸ στράτευμά τε τὸ περίλοιπον ἐς τὸν Φάβιον εὐθὺς ἤγαγε, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραδέδωκεν, οὐδ' ἀνέμεινε τὸν δῆμον ἀναψηφίσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐθελοντὴς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἣν παρ' αὐτοῦ μόνος ἱππάρχων ἔλαβεν, ἀφῆκε. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάντες ἐπῄνεσαν. καὶ ὁ Φάβιος αὐτίκα μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσας πᾶσαν

[1] ὥστε added by Bk.

Rufus, who, after obtaining equal authority with the dictator, had been defeated by the Carthaginians, altered his course (for disasters somehow chasten those who are not utter fools) and voluntarily resigned his command. And for this all praised him highly. He was not thought deserving of censure for his failure to recognize at first what was fitting, but was rather commended for not hesitating to change his mind. They deemed it really a piece of good fortune for a man to choose right at the start a proper course of conduct, whereas they were loud in their praise of the course of one, who, having learned from practical experience the better way, was not ashamed to change his course. Thus from this episode, too, it was clearly shown how much one man differs from another and true excellence from the reputation therefor. What had been taken

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battle. He then surrounded him by means of an ambuscade and placed him in such a dangerous position that his entire army would have been annihilated, had not Fabius assailed Hannibal in the rear and prevented it.

After this experience Rufus altered his course, and leading the remnant of the army immediately to Fabius, laid down his authority. He did not wait for the people to revoke it, but voluntarily resigned the command, which he alone of masters of the horse had obtained from his superior. And for this all praised him. Fabius at once, without any hesitation,

διαβολῇ πρὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ὁ Φάβιος ἀφῃρέθη, ταῦτα παρ' ἑκόντος τοῦ συνάρχοντος καὶ δεομένου γε ἀνεκτήσατο—M. 156 (p. 194).

21 *Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς μέλλων ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τοὺς ὑπάτους μετεπέμψατο καὶ ἐκεῖνό τε αὐτοῖς παρέδωκε καὶ προσπαρῄνεσε πάνθ' ὅσα πραχθῆναι ἐχρῆν ἀφθονώτατα· τήν τε γὰρ σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως προετίμα τοῦ μόνος γε δοκεῖν καλῶς ἄρχειν, καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἔπταισαν ἰδιογνωμονήσαντες, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν κατώρθωσαν πεισθέντες αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἐπαινεθήσεσθαι προσεδόκησε. καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι δὲ οὐδὲν θρασέως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Φαβίου ὑποθήκην ἔπραξαν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀμείνονι τὸ μή τι καταπρᾶξαι τοῦ καὶ σφαλῆναι τιθέμενοι κατὰ χώραν πάντα τὸν τῆς ἡγεμονίας χρόνον ἔμειναν.*—M. 157 (p. 195).

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ἐδέξατο, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸ ἀπεδέξατο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτός τε ἀσφαλέστατα προέστη τοῦ στρατεύματος, καὶ μέλλων ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς τοὺς ὑπάτους μετεπέμψατο καὶ τὸ στράτευμα σφίσι παρέδωκε καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα πραχθῆναι ἐχρῆν παρῄνεσεν ἀφθονώτατα. κἀκεῖνοι θρασέως οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ὑποθήκην τοῦ Φαβίου ἅπαντα ἔπραξαν, καίπερ ὁ Γέμινος καὶ προκατωρθώκει τι. τὸ γὰρ ναυτικὸν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἰδὼν ὁρμῆσαν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀντιπαρασκευὴν

away from Fabius by the citizens, as the result of envy and slander, he received back with the good-will and even at the request of his colleague.

The same man, when about to retire from office, sent for the consuls, surrendered it [the army] to them, and furthermore advised them very fully regarding all the details of what must be done. For the safety of the city stood higher in his estimation than a reputation for being the only successful commander; and for his praise he looked not to the failures they would make in following their own counsels, but rather to the successes they would gain by heeding his advice. And the consuls, acting on the suggestion of Fabius, were not unduly bold, but deemed it better not to accomplish any important result than to be ruined; hence they remained where they were throughout the entire period of their command.

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accepted entire control, and the people gave their sanction. Thereafter, while himself head of the army he acted with great circumspection, and when about to retire from office he sent for the consuls, surrendered the army to them, and advised them very fully regarding all the details of what must be done. And they were not unduly bold, but acted entirely on the suggestion of Fabius, even though Geminus had already met with some success. He had seen the Carthaginian fleet heading for Italy but not venturing to make a landing because of the counter-preparations

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αὐτῶν μὴ προσμῖξαν αὐτῇ, ἐπεκπλεύσας τά τε τῶν Κυρνίων καὶ τὰ τῶν Σαρδονίων ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ ἐβεβαιώσατο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Λιβύην ἐκβὰς ἐλεηλάτησε τὴν παραλίαν αὐτῆς. ταῦτα μὲν ἔπραξεν, οὐ μέντοι δι' αὐτὰ ἐπεφύσητο ὥστε πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν διακινδυνεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς τοῦ Φαβίου ἐνέμεινεν. ὅθενπερ καὶ αἱ πόλεις οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις προσετίθεντο. ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ μὴ ὁ Ἀννίβας τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκπέσῃ, καὶ κακόν τι αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἅτε προσοίκων πάθωσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους τὸ ἀποβησόμενον ἐσκόπουν, ὀλίγοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὖθις μετέστησαν, καὶ ἀναθήματά τινες αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψαν. καὶ τοῦ Ἱέρωνος πολλὰ πεπομφότος, σῖτον καὶ Νίκης ἄγαλμα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μόνα ἔλαβον, καίπερ ἐν ἀχρηματίᾳ ὄντες, ὥστε τὸ ἀργυροῦν νόμισμα, ἀμιγὲς καὶ καθαρὸν γινόμενον πρότερον, χαλκῷ προσμῖξαι.

9, 1. Ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τότε ἐπράχθη· καί τινες δοῦλοι συνωμοσίαν ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ πεποιηκότες προκατελήφθησαν· κατάσκοπός τέ τις ἁλοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπεκόπη καὶ ἀφείθη, ἵνα τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις γένηται τοῦ πάθους αὐτάγγελος. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ναυμαχίᾳ πρὸς τῇ τοῦ Ἴβηρος ἐκβολῇ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐνίκησεν· ἰσοπαλῶς γὰρ ἀγωνιζομένων τὰ ἱστία τῶν νεῶν ὑπετέμετο, ὅπως ἀπογνόντες προθυμότερον ἀγωνίσωνται. καὶ τήν τε χώραν ἐπόρθησε καὶ τείχη συχνὰ ἐχειρώσατο,

Zonaras 8, 26–9, 1.

of the Romans, and he had set out on a retaliatory voyage, after first making sure of the good conduct of the Corsicans and Sardinians by a cruise past their coasts; he had then landed in Africa and plundered the coast region. In spite of this achievement he was not so puffed up by it as to risk a decisive engagement with Hannibal, but was willing to abide by the injunctions of Fabius. As a consequence, the cities were no longer going over to the Carthaginians, as they had been doing; for they feared that Hannibal might be driven out of Italy and they themselves might suffer some injury at the hands of the Romans, since they were their neighbours. The majority, to be sure, were awaiting the outcome, but a few went over once more to the Romans, and some sent them offerings. Hiero also sent many gifts, but the Romans accepted only grain and a statue of Victory, although they were in such hard straits for money that the silver coinage, which previously had been unalloyed and pure, was now mixed with copper.

9, 1. This is what took place in Italy at that period. Some slaves also formed a conspiracy against Rome, but were apprehended in time. And a spy caught in the city had his hands cut off and was then released, so that he might himself bear witness to the Carthaginians of his experience. In Spain, in a sea-fight near the mouth of the Iberus, Scipio was victorious; when the struggle had proved to be indecisive, the sails had been cut down, in order that the men might be rendered desperate and so fight more zealously. He also ravaged the country, captured numerous fortresses, and through his

Zonaras 9, 1.

καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Πουπλίου Σκιπίωνος πόλεις τῶν Ἰβήρων προσεκτήσατο. Ἄβελος γάρ τις Ἴβηρ, δοκῶν μὲν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις πιστός, τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δὲ θεραπεύων, ἀνέπεισε τὸν φρουροῦντα τοὺς τῶν Ἰβήρων ὁμήρους οἴκαδε αὐτοὺς ἀποπέμψαι, ἵν' ἐς εὔνοιαν τάχα ὑπ' αὐτῶν αἱ πόλεις ὑπαχθῶσι· καὶ παραλαβὼν σφᾶς, ἅτε καὶ τῆς ἐπινοίας εἰσηγητὴς γεγονώς, πρὸς τοὺς Σκιπίωνάς τε πρότερον πέμψας καὶ κοινολογησάμενος περὶ ὧν ἠξίου, ἔπειτα νυκτὸς ὑπεκκομίζων αὐτοὺς ἑάλω δῆθεν. καὶ οὕτως ἐκείνων τε ἐγκρατεῖς ἐγένοντο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τὰς πατρίδας αὐτῶν ἀνακομισθέντων οἴκαδε κατεκτήσαντο.

Zonaras 9, 1.

brother, Publius Scipio, won over some Spanish cities. A Spaniard named Abelux, who affected loyalty to the Carthaginians, but was in reality furthering the Roman interests, persuaded the keeper of the Spanish hostages to send them to their homes, in order that through them, as he suggested, their cities might be brought into friendly relations. Abelux naturally took charge of them, inasmuch as he had been the one to suggest the idea, but he first sent to the Scipios and acquainted them with his purpose; then, while he was secretly taking the hostages away by night, he managed to be captured. In this way the Romans obtained possession of these men and won over their native states by restoring them to their homes.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XV

Zonaras 9, 1.

Ἐν μὲν οὖν τούτοις εὐτύχουν, συμφορᾷ δ' αὖ περιέπεσον ἧς οὔτε πρόσθεν οὔθ' ὕστερον δεινοτέρᾳ οὐδεμιᾷ. προηγήσατο δὲ ταύτης καί τινα τέρατα καὶ τὰ τῆς Σιβύλλης λόγια, ἥτις πρὸ τοσούτων ἐτῶν τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτοῖς ἐμαντεύσατο. θαυμαστὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Μάρκου προμάντευμα. χρησμολόγος γάρ τις καὶ οὗτος γενόμενος, ἐν τῷ Διομηδείῳ πεδίῳ πταίσειν αὐτούς, ἅτε καὶ Τρῶας τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντας, ἐφοίβασε. τοῦτο δ' ἐν Ἀπουλίᾳ τῇ Δαυνίων ἐστί, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Διομήδους κατοικήσεως, ἣν ἐκεῖ ἀλητεύσας ἐποιήσατο, ἔσχηκεν. ἐν γὰρ τῷ πεδίῳ ἐκείνῳ καὶ αἱ Κάνναι, ἔνθα τότε ἐδυστύχησαν, παρά τε τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 602.

Οἱ γὰρ Ἰάπυγες καὶ Ἄπουλοι περὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον οἰκοῦσιν. Ἀπούλων δὲ ἔθνη κατὰ τὸν Δίωνα Πευκέτιοι Πεδίκουλοι καὶ Δαύνιοι καὶ Ταραντῖνοι. καὶ Κάνναι Διομήδους πεδίον ἐστὶ

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 757–59.

Ὕστερον ἀντετάξατο Ῥωμαίοις ἐν ταῖς Κάνναις, | Ῥωμαίων ὄντων στρατηγῶν Παύλου καὶ Τερεντίου. | αἱ Κάνναι πεδιάδες δέ εἰσι τῆς Ἀρ-

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Zonaras 9, 1.

Although in these matters they were fortunate, they encountered elsewhere a disaster as terrible as any which they ever suffered either before or afterwards. It was preceded by certain portents and the oracles of the Sibyl, who had prophesied the disaster to them so many years before. Remarkable also was the prediction of Marcus.[1] He was a certain soothsayer who foretold that, inasmuch as they were Trojans of old, they should be overthrown in the Plain of Diomed. This is in Daunian Apulia and has taken its name from the settlement of Diomed, which he made there in the course of his wanderings. In that plain is also Cannae, where the present misfortune occurred, close to the Ionian Gulf and near B.C. 216

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 602.

The Iapygians and Apulians dwell along the Ionian Gulf. The tribes of the Apulians, according to Dio, are the Peucetii, Pediculi, Daunii, and Tarentines. There is also Cannae, the Plain of Diomed,

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 757–59.

Later he arrayed himself against the Romans at Cannae, when the Roman generals were Paulus and Terentius. Cannae is a plain of Argyrippa,

[1] Probably an error for Marcius; cf. Livy, 25, 12.

57,22 Ὅτι περὶ μαντικῆς καὶ ἀστρονομίας φησὶν ὁ Δίων "ἐγὼ μέντοι οὔτε περὶ τούτων οὔτε περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ μαντικῆς προλεγομένων τισὶ συμβαλεῖν ἔχω· τί γάρ που καὶ βούλεται τὸ[1] προσημαίνειν, εἴ γε πάντως τέ τι ἔσται καὶ μηδεμία ἂν αὐτοῦ ἀποτροπὴ μήτ' ἀνθρωπίνῃ περιτεχνήσει μήτ' αὖ θείᾳ προνοίᾳ γένοιτο; ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἑκάστῳ δοκεῖ νομιζέσθω."—M. 158 (p. 195).

23 Ὅτι ἦρχον Παῦλος καὶ Τερέντιος ἄνδρες οὐχ

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καὶ περὶ τὰς τοῦ Αὐφιδίου ἐκβολάς εἰσιν. ἡ δὲ Σίβυλλα φυλάττεσθαι μὲν τὸ χωρίον παρῄνεσεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πλεῖόν τι γενήσεσθαι ἔφη οὐδ' εἰ διὰ πάσης αὐτὸ ποιήσαιντο φυλακῆς.

Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν ἦσαν τὰ χρησμῳδήματα, τὰ δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συμβάντα οὕτως ἐγένετο. ἦρχον μὲν Παῦλος Αἰμίλιος καὶ Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων,

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 602.

περὶ τὴν Ἀπουλίαν τῶν Δαυνίων. ἡ δὲ Μεσσαπία[2] καὶ Ἰαπυγία ὕστερον Σαλεντία, εἶτα Καλαβρία ἐκλήθη. ἡ δὲ Ἀργύριππα πόλις τοῦ Διομήδους μετεκλήθη Ἀπούλοις Ἄρποι.[3]

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 760–64.

γυρίππας, | οὗ Διομήδης ἔκτισε τὴν πόλιν Ἀργύριππαν, | τουτέστιν Ἄργος Ἵππειον τῇ γλώσσῃ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. | αἱ πεδιάδες αὗται δὲ τυγχάνουσι Δαυνίων | τῶν Ἰαπύγων ὕστερον, ἔπειτα Σαλαντίων, | τὰ νῦν δὲ πᾶσι Καλαυρῶν τὴν κλῆσιν λεγομένων.

[1] τὸ inserted by Bk. [2] Μεσσαπία Val., μεσσαπυγία Mss. [3] Ἀπούλοις Ἄρποι Cluverius, om. A, ἄπουλις ἄρπους B.

With regard to divination and astrology Dio says: "I, however, cannot form any opinion either about these events or about others that are foretold by divination. For what does prophesying mean, if a thing is going to occur in any case, and if there can be no averting of it either by human skill or by divine providence? Let each man, then, look at these matters in whatsoever way he pleases."

The commanders were Paulus and Terentius, men

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the mouths of the Aufidus. The Sibyl had admonished them to beware of the spot, yet said it would avail them naught, even if they should keep it under the strictest guard.

Such were the oracular utterances; now what befell the Romans was this. The commanders were Aemilius Paulus and Terentius Varro, men not of

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 602.

near Daunian Apulia. Messapia and Iapygia were later called Salentia, and then Calabria. Argyrippa, the city of Diomed, was renamed Arpi by the Apulians.

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 760–64.

where Diomed founded the city Argyrippa, that is to say, "Argos, the Horse City," in the tongue of the Greeks. And this plain came to belong later to the Iapygian Daunii, then to the Salentini, and now to those whom all call by the name Calauri [Calabrians].

ὁμοιότροποι, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἴσου τῷ διαφόρῳ τοῦ γένους καὶ τὰ ἤθη διαλλάττοντες. ὁ μὲν γὰρ[1] εὐπατρίδης τε ἦν καὶ παιδείᾳ ἐκεκόσμητο, τό τε ἀσφαλὲς πρὸ τοῦ προπετοῦς προετίμα, καί πῃ καὶ ἐκ τῆς αἰτίας, ἣν ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ ἀρχῇ εἰλήφει, κεκολουσμένος οὐκ ἐθρασύνετο, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ καὶ αὖθίς τι δεινὸν πάθοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὅπως ἀποτολμή-
24 σας τι κατορθώσῃ ἐσκόπει,[2] Τερέντιος δὲ ἔν τε τῷ ὁμίλῳ ἐτέθραπτο καὶ ἐν θρασύτητι βαναυσικῇ ἤσκητο, καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἔς τε τἆλλ' ἐξεφρόνει καὶ τὸ κράτος ἑαυτῷ τοῦ πολέμου προυπισχνεῖτο.[3] τοῖς τε εὐπατρίδαις πολὺς ἐνέκειτο, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μόνος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐπιείκειαν ἔχειν ἡγεῖτο.—M. 159 (p. 196).

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ἄνδρες οὐχ ὁμοιότροποι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐπατρίδης ἦν καὶ παιδείᾳ κεκόσμητο καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς προετίμα τοῦ προπετοῦς, Τερέντιος δὲ ἐν τῷ ὁμίλῳ ἐτέθραπτο καὶ ἐν βαναυσικῇ θρασύτητι ἤσκητο καὶ τἄλλα τε ἐξεφρόνει καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μόνος ἔχειν ἡγεῖτο διὰ τὴν τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐπιείκειαν. ἦλθον οὖν ἄμφω εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον εὐκαιρότατα· οὔτε γὰρ τροφὴ ἔτι ἦν τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰβήρων κεκίνητο, τά τε τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῦ ἠλλοτριοῦτο· καὶ εἴ γε καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἐπεσχήκεσαν,

[1] γὰρ added by v. Herw. [2] ἐσκόπει supplied by v. Herw.
[3] προυπισχνεῖτο v. Herw., προσυπισχνεῖτο Ms.

not of similar temperament, but differing alike in family and in character. The former was a patrician, possessed of the graces of education, and esteemed safety before haste; he was somewhat chastened, moreover, as a result of the censure he had received for his former conduct in office. Hence he was not inclined to boldness, but was considering how he might keep from getting into trouble again rather than how he might achieve success by some desperate venture. Terentius, however, had been brought up among the rabble, was practised in vulgar bravado, and so everywhere displayed a lack of prudence; for instance, he was already promising himself the control of the war, was inveighing much against the patricians, and thought that he alone held the command in view of the amiability of his colleague.

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similar temperament. The former was a patrician, possessed of the graces of education, and esteemed safety before haste; but Terentius had been brought up among the rabble, was practised in vulgar bravado, and everywhere displayed a lack of prudence: for instance, he thought that he alone held the command, by reason of the amiability of his colleague. Now they both reached the camp at a most opportune time; for Hannibal had no longer any provisions, Spain was in turmoil, and the allies were being alienated from him; and if they had waited for even the very shortest time, they would have con-

25 Ὅτι τὸ τοῦ Τερεντίου ἀπερίσκεπτον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Παύλου ἐπιεικές, βουλομένου μὲν ἀεὶ τὰ προσήκοντα, συγχωροῦντος δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῷ συνάρχοντι (δεινὴ γάρ ἐστιν ἐλαττωθῆναι θράσους πραότης), ἥττησεν αὐτούς.—M. 160 (p. 196).

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ἀπόνως ἐκράτησαν ἄν. νῦν δέ γε τοῦ Τερεντίου τὸ ἀπερίοπτον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Παύλου ἐπιεικὲς ἥττησεν αὐτούς. ὁ γὰρ Ἀννίβας ἐπεχείρησε μὲν καὶ παραχρῆμα πρὸς μάχην αὐτοὺς ὑπαγαγέσθαι, καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις προσπελάσας αὐτῶν τῷ ἐρύματι, ἐπεὶ ἐκδρομὴ ἐγένετο, ἑκὼν ὑπεχώρησεν, ὅπως δεδιέναι νομισθεὶς ἐπισπάσαιτο μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς εἰς παράταξιν· τοῦ δὲ Παύλου τοῖς οἰκείοις στρατιώταις ἐπισχόντος τὴν δίωξιν ὁ Ἀννίβας προσεποιήσατο φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνασκευασάμενος ὡς ἀπιὼν σκεύη τε συχνὰ κατέλιπεν ἐν τῷ χαρακώματι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀμελέστερον κομίζεσθαι ἐνετείλατο, ἵνα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφ' ἁρπαγὴν αὐτῶν τραπομένων ἐπίθηται σφίσι. καὶ εἰς ἔργον ἂν τὸ βούλευμα ἤγαγεν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Παῦλος καὶ ἄκοντας κατεσχήκει τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὸν Τερέντιον.

Ὁ οὖν Ἀννίβας καὶ τούτου διαμαρτὼν νυκτὸς πρὸς τὰς Κάννας ἀφίκετο. καὶ γνοὺς τὸ χωρίον καὶ πρὸς ἐνέδρας καὶ πρὸς παράταξιν ἐπιτήδειον, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. καὶ προήροσε πάντα τὸν τόπον ὑπόψαμμον ὄντα, ἵνα κονιορτὸς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀρθῇ· τὸν γὰρ ἄνεμον, ὃς ἐν θέρει ἐκεῖσε περὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν

The heedlessness of Terentius and the amiability of Paulus, who always desired the proper course but assented to his colleague in most points (so apt is gentleness to yield to boldness), compassed their defeat.

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quered without any trouble. As matters went, however, the recklessness of Terentius and the amiability of Paulus compassed their defeat. Hannibal attempted to lead them into a conflict at once: with a few followers he drew near their stronghold, and then, when a sortie was made, purposely fell back to create the impression of being afraid and so draw them the more surely into a pitched battle. But when Paulus restrained his own soldiers from pursuit, Hannibal simulated terror and at night packed up as if to depart; he left behind him numerous articles lying within the palisade and ordered the rest of the baggage to be escorted with a considerable show of carelessness, so that the Romans might turn to plundering it and thus give him a chance to attack them. Indeed, he would have translated his wish into fact, if Paulus had not restrained his soldiers and Terentius quite against their will.

So Hannibal, having failed in this attempt also, came by night to Cannae, and since he knew the place as one fit for ambuscades as well as for a pitched battle, he encamped there. And first he plowed up the whole site, which had a sandy subsoil, in order that a cloud of dust might be raised in the conflict, since the wind generally springs up

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εἰώθει γίνεσθαι, κατὰ νώτου ἔχειν ἐμηχανήσατο. οἱ δ' ὕπατοι ἕωθεν κενὸν ἀνδρῶν ἰδόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ χαράκωμα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπέσχον, ἐνεδρεύεσθαι δόξαντες, εἶτα μεθ' ἡμέρας πρὸς τὰς Κάννας ἀφίκοντο. καὶ παρὰ τῷ ποταμῷ ἑκάτερος ἰδίᾳ ηὐλίσατο· οὐκ ὄντες γὰρ ὁμοήθεις τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνουσίαν ἐξέκλινον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Παῦλος ἡσύχαζεν, ὁ δέ γε Τερέντιος ἤθελε συμβαλεῖν· ἀμβλυτέρους δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁρῶν ἀνεκόπτετο. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας καὶ ἄκοντας αὐτοὺς εἰς μάχην παρακινῶν τῆς τε ὑδρείας εἶργε καὶ ἀποσκεδάννυσθαι σφᾶς ἐκώλυε καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν φονευομένων ἄνω πρὸ τῶν ταφρευμάτων ἐνέβαλλεν, ὅπως σφίσι τὸ ποτὸν δυσχεραίνηται. κἀντεῦθεν καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς παράταξιν ὥρμησαν. τοῦτο δὲ προγνοὺς ὁ Ἀννίβας λόχους μὲν ὑπὸ τοὺς ὄχθους ἐκάθισε, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν στρατιὰν συνέταξε, καί τινας ψευδαυτομολῆσαι ὅταν σημήνῃ ἐκέλευσε, τὰς μὲν ἀσπίδας καὶ τὰ δόρατα καὶ τὰ μείζω τῶν ξιφῶν ἀπορρίψαντας, τὰ δ' ἐγχειρίδια κρύφα φέροντας, ἵνα δεξαμένων αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀντικαθεστηκότων ὡς ἀόπλους ἐπίθωνται αὐτοῖς ἀπροσδοκήτως.

Οἱ δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι ἰδόντες πρωίθεν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν παρατεταγμένους ὡπλίζοντό τε καὶ παρετάσσοντο. καὶ οἱ σαλπιγκταὶ ἀμφοτέρους ἐξώτρυναν, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἤρθη, καὶ συμπεσόντες πολυτρόπως ἠγωνίσαντο. καὶ μέχρι τῆς μεσημβρίας οὐδετέροις τὸ κράτος ἀπονενέμητο· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ

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there in summer about noon ; and he contrived to have it behind his own back. The consuls, seeing at dawn that his stockade was empty of men, at first waited, suspecting an ambush, but later came by daylight to Cannae and encamped beside the river, each by himself; for since they were not congenial they avoided association together. Paulus remained quiet, but Terentius was anxious to force the issue ; when he saw, however, that the soldiers were rather listless, he had to give up the plan. But Hannibal, who was determined to goad them into battle even against their will, shut them off from their water supply, prevented their scattering in small parties, and threw the bodies of the slain into the stream higher up in front of their intrenchments, in order to disgust them with the drinking supply. Then the Romans, on their side, hastened to array themselves for battle. Hannibal, anticipating this movement, had planted ambuscades at the foot of the hills but had the remainder of his army drawn up in line. He also ordered some men at a given signal to simulate desertion : they were to throw away their shields and spears and larger swords, but secretly to retain their daggers, so that after their antagonists had received them as unarmed men, they might attack them unexpectedly.

The Romans, accordingly, after having had in view since early morning the troops arrayed with Hannibal, were now arming themselves and forming in battle line. The trumpets roused the men on both sides, the signals were raised, and then ensued the clash of battle and a many-sided contest. Until noon the advantage had not fallen to either army. Then

26 Ὅτι ἐν τῇ συμπλοκῇ τοῦ πολέμου οὐδ' οἱ πάνυ θαρσοῦντες ἐλαφροτέραν τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ φόβου πρὸς τὸ ἄδηλον αὐτῆς εἶχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσῳ μᾶλλον ἡγοῦντο νικήσειν, τόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐδέδισαν[1]

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πνεῦμα ἐπῆλθε, καὶ οἱ ψευδαυτόμολοι δεχθέντες ὡς ὅπλων γυμνοὶ ὄπισθεν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγένοντο, ἵνα μὴ σφίσιν ἐπιτεθῶσι δῆθεν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, τότε καὶ οἱ λόχοι ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπανέστησαν, καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας κατὰ πρόσωπον σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι προσέμιξε, καὶ οἵ τε πολέμιοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πανταχόθεν ἐθορύβουν, καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος ὅ τε κονιορτὸς ἐς τὰς ὄψεις αὐτῶν βιαίως ἐμπίπτων ἐτάραττε, καὶ τὸ ἆσθμα γινόμενον συνεχὲς ἐκ τοῦ καμάτου ἀπέφραττεν, ὥστ' ἀπεστερημένοι μὲν τῆς ὄψεως, ἀπεστερημένοι δὲ καὶ φωνῆς, φύρδην καὶ ἐν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐφθείροντο. καὶ τοσοῦτον ἔπεσε πλῆθος ὥστε τὸν Ἀννίβαν τῶν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὁμίλου μηδὲ πειραθῆναι ἐξευρεῖν ἀριθμόν, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἀριθμὸν μὲν μὴ γράψαι τοῖς οἴκοι Καρχηδονίοις, διὰ δὲ τῶν δακτυλίων ἐνδείξασθαι τοῦτον· χοίνιξι γὰρ σφᾶς ἀπομετρήσας ἀπέστειλε. μόνοι γὰρ οἱ βουλευταὶ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς δακτυλίοις ἐκέχρηντο. συχνοὶ

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 771–74.

Τέλος τοσοῦτο πέπτωκε πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν Ῥωμαίων | ὡς τὸν Ἀννίβαν στρατηγὸν πέμψαι τῇ Σικελίᾳ | τοὺς δακτυλίους στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐνδόξων | μεδίμνοις τε καὶ χοίνιξι πολλοῖς ἐμμετρηθέντας.

[1] ἐδέδισαν Bs., following St., ἐδεδίεσαν Ms.

In the shock of the battle not even the boldest possessed a hope so buoyant as to rise above the fear inspired by its uncertainty, but the surer they felt of conquering the more did they fear that they might

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the wind came up and the pretended deserters were received, apparently destitute of arms, and got in the Romans' rear, in order, as they claimed, that the Carthaginians might not attack them. At this point the men rose from ambush on both sides, while Hannibal with his cavalry charged the Roman front; and not only did the enemy cause them confusion on every hand, but the wind and the dust blew violently into their faces, embarrassing them, and interfering with their breathing, which was already becoming laboured from their exertion, so that, deprived at once of sight and voice, they perished amid utter confusion, preserving no semblance of order. So great a multitude fell that Hannibal did not even try to find out the number of the common soldiers, and in regard to the number of the knights and members of the senate he did not write to the Carthaginians at home, but indicated it by the finger-rings, which he measured off by the quart and sent home; for only the senators and the knights wore finger-rings.

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 771–74.

At last so great a multitude of Romans fell that Hannibal, the general, filled many bushel and quart measures with the finger-rings of the generals and the other prominent men and sent them to Sicily.

μή πῃ σφαλῶσι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοοῦσί τι οὐδέν ἐστι φοβερὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀπονοίας ὑπομένειν, τὸ δὲ ἐκ λογισμοῦ θαρσοῦν . . .—M. 161 (p. 196).[1]

28 Ὅτι ὁ Σκιπίων πυθόμενός τινας παρασκευάζεσθαι τῶν Ῥωμαίων τήν τε Ῥώμην ἐγκαταλιπεῖν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὅλην, ὡς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐσομένην, ἐπέσχεν αὐτοὺς ξιφήρης ἐς τὴν κατάλυσιν ἐν ᾗ ἐκοινολογοῦντο ἐξαίφνης ἐσπηδήσας,

Zonaras 9, 1–2.

δ' οὖν ὅμως καὶ τότε διέφυγον καὶ ὁ Τερέντιος· ὁ γὰρ Παῦλος ἀπέθανεν. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας οὐκ ἐπεδίωξεν οὐδ' εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείχθη. δυνάμενος γὰρ ἢ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ἢ καὶ μέρει τούτου πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην παραυτίκα ὁρμῆσαι καὶ ταχέως διαπολεμῆσαι, οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, καίτοι τοῦ Μαάρβου συναινοῦντος τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. διὸ καὶ αἰτίαν ἔσχεν ὡς νικᾶν μὲν δυνάμενος, χρῆσθαι δὲ ταῖς νίκαις οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τότε ἐμέλλησαν, οὐκέτι οὐδ' αὖθις ἠπείχθησαν. διὸ καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ὡς ἁμαρτὼν μετεμέλετο, συνεχῶς ἀναβοῶν "ὦ Κάνναι Κάνναι."

2. Οἱ δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι παρὰ βραχὺ κινδυνεύσαντες ἀπολέσθαι ἀντεπεκράτησαν διὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος· ὃς υἱὸς μὲν ἦν τοῦ Πουπλίου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ, καὶ τὸν πατέρα ὅτε ἐτρώθη περιέσωσε, τότε δὲ στρατευόμενος εἰς τὸ Κανύσιον ἔφυγε,

[1] Cf. Preface to Vol. I., p. xix.

in some way meet with disaster. For those who are ignorant of a matter do not, in their blind folly, look for anything terrible, but the boldness derived from calculation . . .

Scipio, on learning that some of the Romans were preparing to abandon Rome, and indeed all Italy, because they felt it was destined to belong to the Carthaginians, nevertheless found a way to restrain them. Sword in hand he sprang suddenly into the room where they were conferring, and after

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Zonaras 9, 1–2.

Nevertheless a number made good their escape even as it was, among them Terentius ; but Paulus was killed. Hannibal did not pursue, nor did he hasten to Rome. He might have set out at once for Rome with either his entire army or at least a portion of it, and quickly ended the war ; yet he did not do so, although Maharbal urged him to this course. Hence the criticism was made of him that although able to win victories, he did not understand how to use them. And having delayed this time, they never again made haste. Therefore Hannibal himself used to regret it, feeling that he had committed a blunder, and was ever crying out : "O Cannae, Cannae ! "

2. The Romans, who had been in such imminent danger of being destroyed, regained their supremacy through Scipio. He was a son of the Publius Scipio in Spain, and had saved the life of his father when the latter was wounded ; at present he was serving in the army and had fled to Canusium, and later he

καὶ αὐτός τε ὀμόσας πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ πράξειν, καὶ ἐκείνους ὁρκώσας ὡς παραχρῆμα ἀπολουμένους, ἂν μὴ τὰ πιστὰ
29 αὐτῷ παράσχωνται. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τούτου συμφρονήσαντες πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον ἔγραψαν ὅτι σῴζοιντο· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην οὔτ' ἔγραψε παραχρῆμα οὔτ' ἄγγελον ἀπέστειλεν, ἐς δὲ τὸ Κανύσιον ἐλθὼν τά τε ἐνταῦθα κατεστήσατο, καὶ τοῖς πλησιοχώροις φρουρὰς ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἔπεμψε, προσβάλλοντάς τε τῇ πόλει ἱππέας ἀπεκρούσατο. τό τε σύνολον οὔτ' ἀθυμήσας οὔτε καταπτήξας, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς τῆς διανοίας, ὥσπερ μηδενός σφισι δεινοῦ συμβεβηκότος, πάντα τὰ πρόσφορα τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ ἐβούλευσε καὶ ἔπραξεν.—V. 33 (p. 598).

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καὶ ὕστερον εὐδοκίμησε. παρ' ἑκόντων γὰρ τῶν συμφυγόντων εἰς τὸ Κανύσιον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν λαβὼν τά τε ἐκεῖ κατεστήσατο καὶ τοῖς πλησιοχώροις φρουρὰς ἔπεμψε καὶ πάντα καλῶς ἐβούλευσέ τε καὶ ἔπραξεν.

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὴν ἧτταν μὲν ἤκουσαν, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐπίστευον. πιστεύσαντες δ' ἐπένθουν καὶ συνιόντες εἰς τὸ συνέδριον μή τι πράττοντες ἀπηλλάττοντο. ὀψὲ δ' οὖν ὁ Φάβιος γνώμην ἔδωκε κατασκόπους πέμψαι τοὺς ἀγγελοῦντας τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ τί ὁ Ἀννίβας πράττει, αὐτοὺς δὲ μὴ κλαίειν, σιγῇ δὲ βαδίζειν, ἵν' ἐν καιρῷ τὰ

himself swearing to take proper measures both in word and deed he made them swear likewise, on pain of instant death if they failed to give him their pledge. So these men thereupon became harmonious and wrote to the consul that they were safe. Scipio, however, did not at once write or send a messenger to Rome; but going to Canusium, he set in order affairs at that place, sent to the regions near by such garrisons as circumstances permitted, and repulsed a cavalry attack upon the city. In fine, he displayed neither dejection nor terror, but with an unbroken spirit, as if no serious evil had befallen them, he both planned and carried out all measures suitable to the present situation.

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achieved renown. By common consent of the fugitives assembled at Canusium he assumed command, set affairs in order there, sent garrisons to the regions near by, and both planned and executed all measures well.

The people of Rome heard of the defeat but would not believe it. When they did come to believe it, they were filled with sorrow, and met in the senate-house, but were ready to break up without accomplishing anything, when finally Fabius proposed that they send scouts to bring a report of what had happened and what Hannibal was doing. He urged that they themselves should not lament, but go about in silence, so that the necessary

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προσήκοντα γίνοιτο, δύναμίν τε συλλέξαι ὅσην ἂν δύναιντο καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους ἐπικαλέσασθαι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὡς τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐν τῇ Ἀπουλίᾳ ὄντα ἔμαθον, καὶ γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ Τερεντίου ἐδέξαντο ὅτι περιείη καὶ ὅσα πράττοι, μικρὸν ἀνεθάρσησαν. καὶ δικτάτωρ μὲν Μάρκος Ἰούνιος, ἵππαρχος δὲ Τιβέριος Σεμπρώνιος Γράκχος ἐλέχθησαν. καὶ παραχρῆμα τῶν τε πολιτῶν οὐ τοὺς ἡβῶντας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηβηκότας ἤδη κατέλεξαν, καὶ δεσμώτας ἐπ' ἀδείᾳ καὶ δούλους ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ λῃστάς τέ τινας προσελάβοντο, καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους προσπαρεκάλουν, ἀναμιμνήσκοντες εἴ τί που εὐηργέτηντο καὶ προσυπισχνούμενοι δώσειν τοῖς μὲν σῖτον, τοῖς δὲ ἀργύρια, ὅπερ οὔπω πρόσθεν ἐποίησαν· καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεπόμφασιν ἢ πείσοντές τινας συμμαχῆσαι αὐτοῖς ἢ μισθωσόμενοι.

Ἀννίβας δὲ συνεστηκέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι μαθὼν ἐν ταῖς Κάνναις διέτριβε, τὴν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἅλωσιν ἀπεγνωκώς· καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τὸ μὲν συμμαχικὸν ἄνευ λύτρων ἀφῆκεν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἐτήρει, ἀποδόσθαι ἐλπίζων αὐτούς, ἵν' ἑαυτὸν εὐπορώτερον ἐντεῦθεν ποιήσῃ, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἀπορωτέρους. ἐπεὶ δὲ μηδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀφίκετο τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ζητῶν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς πέμψαι τινὰς οἴκαδε ἐπὶ λύτρα, προομόσαντας ἐπανήξειν. ὡς δὲ οὐδ' οὕτω λύσασθαι σφᾶς ἠθέλησαν, τοὺς μὲν λόγου τινὸς ἀξίους ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἀπέστειλε, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν αἰκισάμενος

measures might be taken in time, and that they should collect as large a force as they could and also call upon their neighbours for aid. After this, upon learning that Hannibal was in Apulia, and upon receiving a letter from Terentius stating that he was alive and what he was doing, they recovered a little of their courage. Marcus Junius was named dictator and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus master of the horse. Immediately they enrolled not only those of the citizens who were in their prime but also those who were now past the military age; they added to their forces prisoners on promise of pardon, slaves on promise of freedom, and a few brigands; moreover, they called on their allies to help, reminding them of any kindness ever shown them, and promising in addition to give some of them grain, and others money—a thing they had never done before; they also sent emissaries to Greece to persuade or hire men to serve as their allies.

Hannibal, learning that the Romans were showing a united front and were engaged in preparations, still delayed at Cannae, having given up all thought of capturing Rome by assault. Of the captives he released the allied contingent without ransom, as before, but the Romans he kept, hoping to dispose of them by sale, and thus increase his own resources while diminishing those of the Romans. But when no one came from Rome in quest of the captives, he ordered them to send some of their number home for ransom, after they had first taken an oath to return. When even then the Romans refused to ransom them, he sent those who were of any prominence to Carthage, and the rest he either

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ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ μονομαχῆσαι ἠνάγκασε, τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἀλλήλοις συμβαλών. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὰ λύτρα, ἐπανελθόντες ἵν' εὐορκήσωσι, φυγόντες δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο, ἄτιμοι ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς κατεχρήσαντο. Μάγωνα δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀγγελοῦντα τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἔπεμψε τὰ γενόμενα καὶ χρήματα παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ δυνάμεις αἰτήσοντα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπελθὼν τούς τε δακτυλίους ἠρίθμησε καὶ ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἐξῆρε δὴ τὸ κατόρθωμα· καὶ ἐψηφίσθη πάντα ὅσα ᾐτήσατο, τῷ γὰρ Ἄννωνι τἀναντία λέγοντι καὶ καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἕως καθυπέρτεροι δοκοῦσι συμβουλεύοντι οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν, οὐ μέντοι τὰ ψηφισθέντα καὶ εἰς ἔργον ἤγαγον, ἀλλ' ἐμέλλησαν. Ἀννίβας δ' ἐν τούτῳ ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν προυχώρησε, καὶ πόλισμά τι εἷλε Σαυνιτικόν, καὶ ἐπὶ Νέαν ὥρμησε πόλιν, προπέμψας μετὰ τῆς λείας ὀλίγους τινάς. πρὸς οὓς ὡς μόνους ὄντας τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἐκδραμόντων ἐπεφάνη αὐτὸς ἀπροσδόκητος καὶ συχνοὺς ἀπέκτεινε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν οὐχ εἷλεν, οὔτ' ἐπὶ πολὺ ταύτῃ προσήδρευσεν. οἱ γὰρ τὴν Καπύην οἰκοῦντες Καμπανοὶ οἱ μὲν τῇ Ῥωμαίων φιλίᾳ ἐνέμειναν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἀπέκλιναν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς Κάνναις εὐτύχησε, καί τινες ἄνδρες αὐτῶν ἁλόντες ἀφείθησαν, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ὥρμησε μεταστῆναι πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν, οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ χρόνον μέν τινα ἐπέσχον, εἶτ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸ πλῆθος ὁρμῆσαν συνηγμένους ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ πάντας ἂν κατεχρήσατο, εἰ μή τις ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τὸ μέγεθος συνιδὼν τοῦ

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tortured and put to death or forced to fight as gladiators, pitting friends and relatives against each other. Those who were sent for ransom returned in order to be true to their oaths, but later fled. Disfranchised then by the censors, they committed suicide.

Hannibal sent his brother Mago to report the victory to the Carthaginians and to ask them for money and troops. So Mago on his arrival counted over the rings and even magnified the success· thus everything that he asked for was voted, and they would not listen to Hanno, who opposed this course and advised them to end the war while they seemed to have the upper hand. However, they did not put their vote into effect, but delayed. Hannibal meanwhile advanced into Campania, seized a Samnite fortress, and marched upon Neapolis. He sent before him a few soldiers with the booty, and when the people of the city, thinking them alone, rushed out upon them, he unexpectedly appeared in person and slew a large number; but he did not capture the city, nor did he lay siege to it long—for a reason now to be given. Of the Campanian inhabitants of Capua a part clung to Roman friendship, while others favoured Hannibal. After his success at Cannae and when some of their men taken captive had been released, the populace was eager to revolt to Hannibal, but the leaders waited for a time. Finally, the crowd made a rush upon them as they were assembled in the senate-house, and would have made away with them all but for the action of some one of the crowd who saw how great a misfortune this would be. This

30 Ὅτι τοὺς Νουκερίνους καθ' ὁμολογίαν ὥστε

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κακοῦ κατηγόρησε μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν ὡς πάντως φθαρῆναι ἀξίων, ἔφη δὲ πρότερον ἄλλους ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἀνθελέσθαι προσήκειν· τὴν γὰρ πόλιν μὴ δύνασθαι μὴ προβουλευόντων τινῶν σώζεσθαι. πεισθέντων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Καπύῃ, ἐκβάλλων ἕνα ἕκαστον ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἠρώτα τὸ πλῆθος ὅντινα αὐτοῦ ἀνθαιρεῖται· καὶ οὕτω, μὴ δυνηθέντων αὐτῶν ἑτέρους δι' ὀλίγου ἀνθελέσθαι, πάντας ἐκείνους ὡς ἀναγκαίους ἀφῆκε. καὶ καταλλαγέντες ἀλλήλοις ἐσπείσαντο τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ. καὶ ὃς διὰ ταχέων ἀπαναστὰς ἐκ τῆς Νεαπόλεως ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Καπύην, καὶ διαλεχθεὶς αὐτοῖς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ εἶπεν ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν σφίσι τῆς Ἰταλίας δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, ἵν' ἐν ἐλπίσι γενόμενοι ὡς καὶ ἑαυτοῖς πονήσοντες προθυμότερον ἀγωνίσωνται.

Μεταστάσης δὲ τῆς Καπύης καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Καμπανία κεκίνητο· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀπόστασιν αὐτῆς μαθόντες ἤχθοντο. ὅ γε μὴν Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ Νουκερίνους ἐστράτευσεν. οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι τὴν ἄχρηστον σφῶν ἡλικίαν ἀπορίᾳ τροφῶν ἐξεώσαντο· οὓς ὁ Ἀννίβας οὐ προσήκατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπιοῦσι μόνον ἀσφάλειαν

Hannibal took possession of Nuceria under an

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man denounced the senators as by all means deserving to perish, but said that they ought first to choose others to fill their places; for the state could not endure without some men to concert measures for the rest. Having gained the assent of the Capuan people, he ejected each of the members in turn from the senate-house, asking the populace, as he did so, whom they chose in his place; and thus, when they found themselves unable to choose others on short notice, he let all the senators go unharmed, because they appeared to be indispensable. Later the Capuans became reconciled with one another and made peace with Hannibal. This was the reason why he quickly retired from Neapolis and came to Capua. He held a conference with the people and made many attractive offers, among other things promising to give them the leadership in Italy; for he wished to encourage them with the hope that they would be actually labouring in their own behalf, so that they might fight with greater zeal.

Upon the revolt of Capua the rest of Campania also became restive, and the news of the town's secession troubled the Romans. As for Hannibal, he set out on a campaign against Nuceria. Under stress of siege and owing to lack of food the inhabitants thrust out those of their number whose age rendered them unserviceable. Hannibal would not receive these, however, and gave them assurance of safety only in case they should go back to the city. There-

μεθ' ἑνὸς ἱματίου ἕκαστον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκχωρῆσαι λαβὼν Ἀννίβας, ἐπειδὴ ἐγκρατὴς αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν βουλευτὰς ἐς βαλανεῖα κατακλείσας[1] ἀπέπνιξεν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἀπελθεῖν δῆθεν ὅποι[2] βούλοιντο δούς, πολλοὺς καὶ ἐκείνων ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐφόνευσεν. οὐ μέντοι αὐτῷ ἐλυσιτέλησε· φοβηθέντες γὰρ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μὴ τὰ ὅμοια πάθωσιν, οὐ συνέβαινον αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀντεῖχον ἐφ' ὅσον ἐξήρκουν.—V. 34 (p. 598).

31 Ὅτι ὁ Μάρκελλος καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ τῇ τε δικαιοσύνῃ πολλῇ ἐχρήσατο, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἀρχομένων οὐ πάντα ἀκριβῶς οὐδὲ χαλεπῶς ἀπῄτει, οὐδὲ ἐπιμέλειαν ὅπως καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὰ δέοντα πράττωσιν ἐποιεῖτο, τοῖς τε[3] ἁμαρτάνουσί τι αὐτῶν συγγνώμην κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἔνεμε, καὶ οὐκ ὠργίζετο[4] εἰ μὴ ὅμοιοι αὐτῷ εἶεν. V. 35 (p. 601).

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ἔδωκε. διὸ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μεθ' ἑνὸς ἱματίου ἐκχωρῆσαι τοῦ ἄστεος ὡμολόγησαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγκρατὴς αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν βουλευτὰς ἐς βαλανεῖα κατακλείσας ἀπέπνιξε, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἀπελθεῖν εἰπὼν ὅποι βούλοιντο, πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ κἀκείνων ἐφόνευσε. συχνοὶ δ' οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ περιεγένοντο εἰς ὕλας προκαταφυγόντες. ἐκ τούτου δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ φοβηθέντες οὐ συνέβαινον

[1] κατακλείσας Bs., ἀποκλείσας Ms.
[2] ὅποι Val., ὅπῃ Ms. [3] τε Bs., δὲ Ms.
[4] ὠργίζετο Cary, ὠργίζετο ἔτι Ms. by dittography.

agreement that each man should leave the city with a single garment. As soon, however, as he had them in his power, he shut the senators into bathhouses and suffocated them; and even in the case of the others, although he had pretended to grant them permission to go away wherever they pleased, he cut down many of them on the road. This course, however, did not turn out to his advantage; for the rest became afraid that they might suffer a similar fate, and so would not come to terms with him, but resisted as long as they could hold out.

Marcellus was a man of great bravery, moderation, and justice. The demands he made on those under him were not all rigorous or harsh, nor was he careful to see that they too performed their duty. Those of them who committed any errors he pardoned, out of fellow-feeling, and was not angry if they failed to be like him.

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fore the rest also agreed to leave the city with a single garment. As soon, however, as Hannibal was master of the situation, he shut the senators into bathhouses and suffocated them, and even in the case of the others, although he had told them to go away wherever they pleased, he cut down many on the road; yet a number of them managed to escape by taking refuge in the woods. Thereupon the rest became afraid, and would no longer come to terms with him, but resisted while

32 Ὅτι ἐν τῇ Νώλῃ πολλῶν τοὺς ἁλόντας τε ἐν ταῖς Κάνναις καὶ ἀφεθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου διὰ φόβου τε ἐχόντων ὡς καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου φρονοῦντας καὶ θανατῶσαι βουλομένων, ἀντέστη. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν ὑποψίαν ἣν ἐς αὐτοὺς εἶχεν ἀποκρυψάμενος, οὕτω σφᾶς μετεχειρίσατο ὥστε τά τε ἑαυτοῦ ἀνθελέσθαι[1] καὶ χρησιμωτάτους καὶ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι.—V. 36 (601).

33 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Μάρκελλος τῶν ἱππέων τινὰ τῶν Λευκανῶν αἰσθόμενος ἐν ἔρωτι γυναικὸς ὄντα, συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτὴν ἔχειν, ὅτι κράτιστα ἐμάχετο, καίπερ ἀπαγορεύσας μηδεμίαν ἐς τὸ τάφρευμα γυναῖκα ἐσιέναι.—V. 37 (*ib.*).

34 Ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐποίησε τοὺς Ἀκερανοὺς[2] τοῖς Νουκερίνοις, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ἐς φρέατα τοὺς βουλευτὰς καὶ οὐκ ἐς βαλανεῖα ἐνέβαλεν.—V. 38 (*ib.*).

Zonaras 9, 2.

ἔτι αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἀντεῖχον ἕως ἠδύναντο. καὶ οἱ Νωλανοὶ βουλευόμενοι προσχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ, ἐπεὶ τὸ εἰς ἐκείνους εἶδον πραχθέν, ἐπηγάγοντο λάθρᾳ τὸν Μάρκελλον, καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν προσβαλόντα τῇ πόλει μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπώσαντο. ἀποκρουσθεὶς δὲ τῆς Νώλης Ἀκερανοὺς εἷλε λιμῷ ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς τοῖς Νουκερίνοις συνθήκαις, καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ

[1] ἀνθελέσθαι v. Herw., ἀνελέσθαι Ms.
[2] τοὺς Ἀκερανοὺς Bk., καὶ Ms.

When many citizens of Nola stood in dread of the men captured at Cannae and later released by Hannibal, because they thought that such persons favoured the invader's cause, and when they were even desirous of putting them to death, he [Marcellus] opposed it. And thereafter he concealed the suspicion that he felt toward them, and treated them in such a way that they chose his side by preference, and became extremely useful both to their native land and to the Romans.

The same Marcellus, when he perceived that one of the Lucanian cavalrymen was in love with a woman, permitted him to keep her in the camp, because he was a most excellent fighter ; and this was in spite of the fact that he had forbidden any woman to enter the entrenchments.

He pursued the same course with the people of Acerrae as he had with those of Nuceria, except that he cast the senators into wells instead of bath-houses.

Zonaras 9, 2.

they were able. Now the people of Nola were planning to join his cause, but when they saw what had been done to their neighbours, they quietly let Marcellus in and later repulsed Hannibal when he assaulted their city. Repelled from Nola, he captured the people of Acerrae by starving them out. He made the same terms with them as with the people of Nuceria, and also accorded them the same treat-

εἰργάσατο καὶ αὐτούς. εἶτα καὶ ἐπὶ Βασιλίνας ἐστράτευσεν, ἐν ᾧ Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ συμμάχων ὡσεὶ χίλιοι συγκατέφυγον. οἳ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιχωρίους προδοῦναι σφᾶς μελετήσαντας ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν πολλάκις ἀπώσαντο, καὶ πρὸς λιμὸν γενναίως διεκαρτέρησαν· ἐπιλιπούσης δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτούς, ἐπ' ἀσκοῦ τινα διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὸν δικτάτορα ἔπεμψαν· ὁ δὲ πίθους ἀλεύρων πλήρεις νυκτὸς ἐνέβαλλεν εἰς τὸν ποταμόν, ἐντειλάμενος αὐτοῖς παρατηρεῖν ἐν τῷ σκότει τὸ ῥεῦμα. καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα ἐλάνθανεν οὕτως τὰς τροφὰς αὐτοῖς χορηγῶν, ἔπειτα πίθου τινὸς προσραγέντος ποι καὶ συντριβέντος ἔγνων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὸ γινόμενον, καὶ ἁλύσεσι τὸν ποταμὸν διειλήφασιν. ὡς δὲ τῷ λιμῷ καὶ τοῖς τραύμασι συχνοὶ διεφθάρησαν, τὸ ἕτερον τῆς πόλεως μέρος ἐξέλιπον κἀν τῷ λοιπῷ διεκαρτέρουν, τὴν γέφυραν διακόψαντες. εἶτα σπέρμα γογγυλίδος ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους εἴς τι χωρίον ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ κατέβαλον. ἐποίησαν δὲ τοῦτο ἵνα καταπλήξωσι τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀνταρκέσοντες. ὅθεν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἄφθονον αὐτοὺς ἔχειν τὴν τροφὴν οἰηθεὶς καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ καρτερίᾳ θαυμάσας εἰς ὁμολογίαν προεκαλέσατο, καὶ χρημάτων ἀπέδοτο σφᾶς. ἐλύσαντο γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἔξω Ῥωμαῖοι ἀσμένως, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐτίμησαν.

3. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο καὶ ἐκ Δελφῶν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἀνεκομίσθησαν, λέγοντες τὴν Πυθίαν χρῆσαι αὐτοῖς παύσασθαι τῆς ῥᾳθυμίας καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ προσέχειν. ἐντεῦθεν ἀνερρώσθησαν. καὶ

ment. After that he made an expedition against Basilinae,[1] where Romans and about a thousand of the allies had taken refuge. These put to death the native citizens, who had been planning to betray them, repulsed Hannibal several times, and held out nobly against hunger. When food was failing them, they sent a man by way of the river on an inflated skin to the dictator. The latter proceeded to put jars filled with meal into the river at night, after bidding them watch the stream in the darkness. For a while he thus supplied them with food without being discovered, but eventually a jar was dashed against some obstacle and shattered; then the Carthaginians became aware of what was going on and put chains across the river. After a number had perished of hunger and of their wounds, they abandoned one half of the city, cut down the bridge, and held out in the other half. They now threw turnip seed from the wall upon a spot outside, doing this in order to dishearten the enemy and make them believe that they were likely to endure for a long time. Hence Hannibal, thinking that they must have plenty of food, and astonished at their endurance, invited them to surrender, and released them for money. For the Romans outside were glad to ransom them, and furthermore, they showed them honour.

3. While these events were taking place the messengers returned from Delphi saying that the Pythia bade them cease from sloth and devote themselves to the war. This gave them new

[1] An error for Casilinum.

35 Ὅτι ὁ Φάβιος τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς[1] ἐν ταῖς πρὶν μάχαις ζωγρηθέντας τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρα ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς ἐκομίσατο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ χρημάτων ἀπολύσασθαι συνέθετο. μὴ δεξαμένης[2] δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὸ ἀνάλωμα, ὅτι μηδὲ τὴν λύσιν αὐτῶν συνεπῄνεσε, τά τε ἑαυτοῦ χωρία, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἀπεκήρυξεν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς σφων τὰ λύτρα αὐτοῖς ἐχαρίσατο.—V. 39 (p. 601)

Zonaras 9, 2-3.

κατέλαβον τὸν Ἀννίβαν καί οἱ παρεστρατοπεδεύσαντο, ὅπως τὰ πραττόμενα παρ' αὐτοῦ παρατηρῶσι. καὶ ὅ γε Ἰούνιος ὁ δικτάτωρ τὰ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις παραγγελλόμενα καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ποιεῖν ὁμοίως ἐκέλευε. καὶ σῖτα καὶ ὕπνον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καιρῷ ᾑροῦντο, καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς ὁμοίως ἐπεσκόπουν, καὶ τἄλλα ἐπ' ἴσης ἔπραττον. καταμαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Ἀννίβας χειμέριον ἐτήρησε νύκτα, καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπέξοδον ἀφ' ἑσπέρας ἀνεῖπε, τοῦ δὲ Ἰουνίου τὸ αὐτὸ ποιήσαντος, ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἄλλοτε ἄλλους αὐτῷ προσβάλλειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἵν' ἐν συνεχεῖ πόνῳ ἐκ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος εἴησαν· αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνεπαύετο. ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ἐπιλάμψειν ἔμελλε, τὸ στράτευμά τε δῆθεν ἀνεκαλέσατο καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰ ὅπλα ἀποθεμένων καὶ πρὸς ἀνάπαυλαν τραπομένων ἐπῆλθεν αὐτοῖς ἄφνω καὶ συχνοὺς ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸ τάφρευμα ἐκλειφθὲν εἷλε.

Τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ καὶ τῇ Σαρδοῖ ἐκινεῖτο,

[1] τοὺς inserted by Bk. [2] δεξαμένης Val., δεξάμενος Ms.

Fabius got back some of the men captured in former battles by exchanging man for man, and agreed to ransom the others for money. When, however, the senate failed to confirm the expenditure, because it did not approve their ransom at all, he offered for sale his own farms, as I have said, and from the proceeds of them furnished the ransom for the men.

Zonaras 9, 2–3.

strength. They overtook Hannibal and encamped near him, so as to watch his movements. Junius, the dictator, ordered the Romans to do exactly as the Carthaginians were commanded to do. So they took their food and sleep at the same time, visited the sentries in the same manner, and were doing everything else in similar fashion. When Hannibal became aware of this, he waited for a stormy night and then gave notice to some of his soldiers of an attack to be made in the evening. Junius did the same thing. Thereupon Hannibal ordered different detachments to attack him in succession one after the other, in order that his opponents might be involved in constant hardship as a result of sleeplessness and the storm; but he himself rested together with the troops not in action. When day was about to break, he recalled the army, to all appearances, and the Romans put away their weapons and retired to rest; then all of a sudden he attacked them, with the result that he killed a number and captured the entrenchments, which were deserted.

Conditions in Sicily and Sardinia grew unsettled,

Zonaras 9, 3.

οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς τινος παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔτυχον. ὕπατοι δὲ ὅ τε Γράκχος ὁ ἵππαρχος καὶ Ποστούμιος Ἀλβῖνος ᾑρέθησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀλβῖνος μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν Βοουίων ἐφθάρη, δι' ὄρους ὑλώδους πορευόμενος καὶ ἐνεδρευθείς· οὗ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐκκαθάραντες καὶ περιχρυσώσαντες πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῶν ἀντὶ φιάλης ἐκέχρηντο. γεγόνασι δὲ τότε τέρατα· βοῦς τε γὰρ ἵππον ἔτεκε καὶ ἐν θαλάσσῃ ἐξέλαμψε πῦρ. οἱ δ' ὕπατοι Γράκχος καὶ Φάβιος στρατοπεδευσάμενοι τόν τε Ἀννίβαν ἐν Καπύῃ ὄντα ἐπετήρουν, ὅ τι πράσσει, καὶ διεπέμποντο ἑκασταχόσε, τοῖς τε συμμάχοις ἐπήμυνον, καὶ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας οἰκειοῦσθαι ἐπειρῶντο τά τε τῶν ἀνθισταμένων ἐκάκουν. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἕως μὲν τῆς τροφῆς ἐνδεῶς ηὐπόρει καὶ διακινδυνεύων, σωφρόνως μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ διῆγεν, ὡς δὲ τὴν Καπύην ἔλαβον καὶ πολλοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις ἐν ῥᾳστώνῃ διεχείμασαν, τήν τε ἰσχὺν τῶν σωμάτων μὴ πονούμενοι καὶ τὴν ῥώμην τῆς γνώμης ὑπὸ τῆς εὐθυμίας ἠλαττώθησαν, καὶ τὴν πάτριον ἀμείψαντες δίαιταν μετέμαθον ἡττᾶσθαι μαχόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἤδη ἐπέκειτο, ἐς ὄρη μετέστη καὶ ἐγύμναζε τὸ στράτευμα. οἱ δ' οὐχ οἷοί τε δι' ὀλίγου ῥωσθῆναι γεγόνασι. βοηθείας δὲ αὐτῷ οἴκοθεν ἄλλης τε καὶ ἐλεφάντων ἐλθούσης ἀνεθάρσησε. καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Νῶλαν ὡς αἱρήσων αὐτὴν ἢ τόν γε Μάρκελλον τὴν Σαυνῖτιδα πορθοῦντα ταύτης ἀπάξων ὥρμησεν. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέραινε,

Zonaras 9, 3.

but did not receive any consideration at the hands of the Romans. The consuls chosen were Gracchus, previously master of the horse, and Postumius Albinus. Now Albinus was ambushed and destroyed with his entire army by the Boii as he was traversing a wooded mountain. The barbarians cut off his head, scooped out the interior, and after gilding it used it for a bowl in their sacred rites. Portents also occurred at this time: a cow gave birth to a horse and fire shone out at sea. The consuls B.C. 215 Gracchus and Fabius encamped and kept watch of Hannibal who was at Capua, to see what he did. They also sent out envoys in every direction, defended the allies, endeavoured to win back the revolted, and ravaged the possessions of those who opposed them. Hannibal, as long as his food supply was scanty and was obtained at the cost of encountering dangers, led a temperate life, as did his army; but after taking Capua and wintering there in idleness with ample provisions, they deteriorated in physical strength, as a result of no longer toiling, and in moral vigour, through pleasure, and in changing their ancestral habits they learned an accomplishment that was new to them—to be defeated in battle. When the business of war finally became pressing, Hannibal transferred his quarters to the mountains and went to exercising the army; but they could not grow strong in a short space of time. He was encouraged, however, by the arrival of elephants and other reinforcements from home. He now set out against Nola, intending to capture it or at least to draw Marcellus away from Samnium, which he was ravaging. When

Zonaras 9, 3.

τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἀπέστη, τὴν δὲ χώραν ἔκειρε, μέχρις οὗ μάχῃ κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἡττήθη, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἤλγησε. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ Ἴβηρες, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν Λιβύων ἐγκατέλιπον αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ηὐτομόλησαν, ὃ οὔπω πρῴην ἔπαθε. καταγνοὺς δ' ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην ἐξέλιπε καὶ ἐς τὴν Καπύην ἀνεχώρησεν· εἶτα κἀκεῖθεν μετέστη.

Οἱ δὲ Σκιπίωνες τόν τε Ἴβηρα ποταμὸν διέβησαν, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθουν καὶ πόλεις προσήγοντο, καὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν διὰ ταῦτα σπουδῇ ἐπελθόντα μάχῃ ἐνίκησαν. οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ταῦτα μαθόντες, καὶ νομίσαντες πλείονος τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἢ τὸν Ἀννίβαν δεῖσθαι βοηθείας, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Λιβύην οἱ Σκιπίωνες διαβῆναι ἐπιχειρήσωσι, τῷ μὲν Ἀννίβᾳ βραχεῖαν δύναμιν ἔπεμψαν, τὴν πλείστην δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Μάγωνος εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τάχιστα ἀπεστάλκασι, κελεύσαντες μετὰ τὴν τῆς Ἰβηρίας κατάστασιν τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐκεῖ φυλακῇ καταμεῖναι, τὸν δὲ Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν σὺν δυνάμει σταλῆναι. ὃ γνόντες οἱ Σκιπίωνες οὐκέτ' ἐμαχέσαντο, ἵνα μὴ κρατήσας ἴσως ὁ Ἀσδρούβας εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπειχθῇ. ὡς δὲ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων φίλιον ἐκάκουν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, Πούπλιος μὲν ὁμόσε τοῖς προσπεσοῦσιν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐχώρησέ τε καὶ ἐπεκράτησε, Γναῖος δὲ τοὺς ἀποχωροῦντας σφῶν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὑπολαβὼν προσδιέφθειρεν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς ταύτης, καὶ ὅτι καὶ πόλεις συχναὶ πρὸς τοὺς

Zonaras 9, 3.

he could accomplish nothing, he withdrew from the city, but laid waste the country, until he suffered a decisive defeat in battle. At this he was indeed grieved, since many Spaniards and even many of the Africans now forsook him and deserted to the Romans—a new experience for him. Disgusted, therefore, both with himself and with his soldiers, he abandoned that entire region and retired to Capua. Afterward he left that place also.

The Scipios had crossed the river Iberus and were B.C. 216
ravaging the country; they had secured control of various cities, and when Hasdrubal for this reason hastened to oppose them, they had conquered him in battle. The Carthaginians, upon learning of this, thought that Hasdrubal needed more assistance than Hannibal did, and fearing that the Scipios might also attempt to cross into Africa, they despatched only a small body of troops to Hannibal, B.C. 215
but sent the larger part with Mago to Spain with the utmost speed; and they ordered the latter after the reduction of Spain to remain to guard their interests there, whereas Hasdrubal was to be sent with a force against Italy. The Scipios, learning their plan, no longer gave battle, for fear that Hasdrubal might perchance win a victory and then hasten into Italy. However, as the Carthaginians went on ravaging the region that was friendly to the Romans, Publius engaged in a struggle with such of his opponents as met him and won a victory, while Gnaeus intercepted those of the enemy who were retiring from the battle and completed their destruction. As a result of this disaster, and because numerous cities were trans-

Zonaras 9, 3–4.

Ῥωμαίους μεθίσταντο καὶ τῶν Λιβύων τινὲς αὐτοῖς προσεχώρησαν, πλέον ἢ διενοεῖτο ὁ Ἀσδρούβας κατέμεινεν. οἱ δὲ Σκιπίωνες εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν εὐθὺς τοὺς προσχωρήσαντας ἔστειλαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ καθίστων, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ζακυνθίων ὑπηκόους τοὺς καὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς αἰτίους αὐτοῖς γενομένους ἑλόντες, τό τε πόλισμα κατέσκαψαν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπώλησαν, καὶ τὴν Ζάκυνθον μετὰ τοῦτο κομισάμενοι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις ἀπέδοσαν. τοσαύτῃ τε ἀκριβείᾳ περὶ τὴν λείαν ἐχρήσαντο ὡς μηδὲν οἴκοι πέμψαι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ συστρατευομένοις ἐπέτρεπον τοῦτο ποιεῖν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀστραγάλους τοῖς τέκνοις ἔπεμψαν. ὅθεν ἡ γερουσία, παραιτουμένου τοῦ Γναίου ἵν' ἀπελθὼν οἴκαδε προῖκα τῇ θυγατρὶ ἐρανίσῃ ὡραίᾳ οὔσῃ ἀνδρός, ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου προῖκα δοθῆναι αὐτῇ.

4. Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ καιρῷ καὶ ἡ Σικελία καὶ ἡ Σαρδὼ ἄντικρυς ἐπολεμώθησαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν ταύταις δι' ὀλίγου κατέστη, καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἐπικουρῶν αὐταῖς ἑάλω, καὶ τὴν νῆσον μικροῦ πᾶσαν ἀνεκτήσατο Μάλλιος[1] Τορκουάτος. καὶ τότε μὲν τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ἡσύχασε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐταράχθη. ὁ δὲ τῆς Μακεδονίας βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος φανερώτατος τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐγένετο σπουδαστής. τῆς γὰρ Ἑλλάδος προσεπάρξαι θέλων, συνθήκας πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἔθετο, ὥστε κοινῇ πολεμῆσαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰταλίαν τοὺς Καρχηδονίους λαβεῖν, τὴν δ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Ἤπειρον μετὰ τῶν νήσων ἐκεῖνον. ἡ μὲν οὖν

[1] Μάλλιος Pinder, Μάλιος Mss.

ferring their allegiance to the Romans, and some of the Africans had also gone over to their side, Hasdrubal remained there longer than he was intending. The Scipios sent their accessions at once to Italy, and they themselves continued to settle affairs in Spain. They captured the subjects of the Saguntines who had brought upon them the fatal war, and they razed the town and sold the population. After this they took possession of Saguntum and restored B.C. 214 it to its original inhabitants. They were so scrupulous in regard to the plunder that they sent nothing home; to be sure, they allowed their soldiers to do so, but as for themselves, they sent only some jackstones to their children. Hence the senate, when Gnaeus asked for a furlough, in order that he might go home and secure a dowry for his daughter, who was of marriageable age, voted that a dowry be given her from the public funds.

4. During this same period both Sicily and Sardinia became openly hostile. But the disturbance in these regions soon subsided. Hasdrubal, who was aiding them, was captured, and Manlius Torquatus recovered almost the entire island. For the time being affairs in Sicily were quiet, but later there was trouble. Philip, the king of Macedonia, showed himself a most open partisan of the Carthaginians. In his desire to add Greece to his possessions he came to an agreement with Hannibal that they should conduct the war in common, and that the Carthaginians should receive Italy, while he should have Greece and Epirus together with the

Zonaras 9, 4.

ὁμολογία ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγένετο, τοῦ δὲ κήρυκος τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου πεμφθέντος πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἁλόντος ἔμαθον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ γινόμενον, καὶ παραχρῆμα στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐτὸν Μάρκον Οὐαλλέριον Λαουίνιον ἔστειλαν, ὅπως περὶ τοῖς οἴκοι δείσας κατὰ χώραν μείνῃ. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως· προῆλθε μὲν γὰρ μέχρι τῆς Κερκύρας ὁ Φίλιππος ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλευσούμενος, μαθὼν δὲ τὸν Λαουίνιον ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἤδη παρόντα οἴκαδε ἀνεκομίσθη. τοῦ Λαουινίου δὲ μέχρι τῆς Κερκύρας πλεύσαντος, εἰς τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ὥρμησε, καὶ εἷλεν Ὤρικον, Ἀπολλωνίαν τ' ἐπολιόρκει. ἐπιστρατεύσας δ' αὖθις αὐτῷ Λαουίνιος καὶ Ὤρικον ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἐρρύσατο. κἀντεῦθεν ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς ναῦς αἷς ἐκέχρητο καταπρήσας, πεζῇ ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησεν.

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὑπάτους εἵλοντο τὸν Φάβιον καὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον. οἳ τὸν μὲν Ἀννίβαν τὴν νῦν Καλαβρίαν καλουμένην καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν περιπορευόμενον τῷ Γράκχῳ τῷ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἄρξαντι ἐπέταξαν· καὶ ὃς Ἄννωνα περὶ Βενεβεντὸν ἀπαντήσαντά οἱ ἐκ Βρεττίων ἐτρέψατο, κἀντεῦθεν προϊὼν τόν τε Ἀννίβαν παρεφύλαττε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀφεστηκότων ἐπόρθει, πόλεις τέ τινας ἀνεσώσατο· αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ ὕπατοι πρὸς τὴν Καμπανίαν ἐτράποντο, ἵν' αὐτὴν χειρωσάμενοι μηδὲν κατόπιν πολέμιον ὑπολίπωσιν, οὕτω τε ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν χωρήσωσιν. εἶτα διαιρεθέντες, Φάβιος μὲν τά τε ἐκείνων τά τε τοῦ Σαυνίου κατέτρεχε, Μάρκελλος δὲ εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐπεραιώθη καὶ τὰς Συρακούσας ἐπολιόρκει, προσχωρησάσας μὲν

islands. The agreement was made on this basis; but through the capture of the herald who had been sent to Hannibal by Philip, the Romans learned what was taking place, and forthwith sent the praetor Marcus Valerius Laevinus[1] against him. They intended to cause him anxiety about his own possessions, so that he should stay at home. And thus it turned out. Philip advanced as far as Corcyra with the intention of sailing to Italy, but on learning that Laevinus was already at Brundisium, he returned home. When Laevinus had sailed as far as Corcyra, Philip set out against the Roman allies; he captured Oricum and proceeded to besiege Apollonia. But Laevinus once more made an expedition against him, recovered Oricum, and rescued Apollonia. Then Philip, after burning the ships which he had used, returned home by land.

The people of Rome chose Fabius and Marcellus consuls. Hannibal was then moving about in what is now called Calabria and the adjacent regions, and they assigned the care of him to Gracchus, who had held office before them. Gracchus routed Hanno, who had come from Bruttium and confronted him near Beneventum, and then going on, he watched Hannibal closely, ravaged the possessions of those who had revolted, and won back some cities. The consuls themselves turned their attention to Campania, for they were anxious to subdue it and so leave no hostile force behind them when they marched against Hannibal. They then divided forces: Fabius overran the districts of Campania and Samnium, while Marcellus crossed into Sicily and proceeded to besiege Syracuse. The city had submitted to

[1] Zonaras always spells this name Lavinius; cf. 8, 3.

Zonaras 9, 4.

αὐτῷ, εἶτ' ἀποστάσας δόλῳ τινῶν ὑπὸ ψευδοῦς ἀγγελίας. καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου ἂν αὐτὰς ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἅμα προσβαλὼν τῷ τείχει, εἰ μὴ ὁ Ἀρχιμήδης μηχαναῖς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν ἀντισχεῖν. καὶ λίθους γὰρ καὶ ὁπλίτας μηχανήμασιν ἀπαρτῶν καθίει τε ἐξαπιναίως αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνέσπα δι' ὀλίγου. ταῖς τε ναυσὶ καὶ ταῖς πυργοφόροις ἑτέρας ἐπιρρίπτων ἀνεῖλκέ τε αὐτὰς καὶ μετεωρίζων ἀθρόως ἠφίει, ὥστε ἐμπιπτούσας εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ῥύμῃ βαπτίζεσθαι. καὶ τέλος σύμπαν τὸ ναυτικὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων παραδόξως κατέπρησε. κάτοπτρον γάρ τι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατείνας τήν τε

Tzetzes, Chil. 2, 109–23.

Καὶ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου στρατηγοῦ ποτε δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων | τῇ Συρακούσῃ κατὰ γῆν προσβάλλοντος καὶ πόντον, | τινὰς μὲν πρῶτον μηχαναῖς ἀνείλκυσεν ὁλκάδας | καὶ πρὸς τὸ Συρακούσιον τεῖχος μετεωρίσας | αὐτάνδρους πάλιν τῷ βυθῷ κατέπεμπεν ἀθρόως, | Μαρκέλλου δ' ἀποστήσαντος μικρόν τι τὰς ὁλκάδας | ὁ γέρων πάλιν ἅπαντας ποιεῖ Συρακουσίους | μετεωρίζειν δύνασθαι λίθους ἁμαξιαίους | καὶ τὸν καθένα πέμποντας[1] βυθίζειν τὰς ὁλκάδας. | ὡς Μάρκελλος δ' ἀπέστησε βολὴν ἐκείνας τόξου, | ἑξάγωνόν τι κάτοπτρον ἐτέκτηνεν ὁ γέρων, | ἀπὸ δὲ διαστήματος συμμέτρου τοῦ κατόπτρου | μικρὰ τοιαῦτα κάτοπτρα θεὶς τετραπλᾶ γωνίαις | κινούμενα λεπίσι τε καί τισι γιγγλυμίοις, | μέσον ἐκεῖνο

[1] πέμποντας Cary, πέμποντα Ms.

Zonaras 9, 4.

him, but then had revolted again as the result of a false message sent by the treachery of certain men. Now he would have subdued it very speedily, as the result of a joint assault upon the wall by land and sea, had not Archimedes with his inventions enabled the inhabitants to resist for a very long time. For this man by his devices suspended stones and heavy-armed soldiers in the air, and these he would let down suddenly, and presently draw them up again. And he would lift up ships, even those equipped with towers, by means of other appliances which he dropped upon them; and raising them aloft, would let them drop suddenly, so that when they fell into the water they were sunk by the impact. At last in an incredible manner he burned up the whole Roman fleet. For by tilting a kind of

Tzetzes, Chil. 2, 109–23.

And when once Marcellus, the Roman general, was assaulting Syracuse by land and sea, this man first by his engines drew up some merchantmen, and lifting them up against the wall of Syracuse dropped them again and sent them every one to the bottom, crews and all. Again, when Marcellus removed his ships to a little distance, the old man gave all the Syracusans the power to lift stones of a waggon's size, and hurling them one at a time, to sink the ships. When Marcellus withdrew them a bow-shot thence, the old man constructed a kind of hexagonal mirror, and at an interval proportionate to the size of the mirror, he set similar small mirrors with four edges, moving by links and by a kind of hinge, and

46[b] Δίων ἐν ιε′ βιβλίῳ "μὴ οἱ Συρακούσιοι νεωτερίσωσί τι, τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπογνόντες."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 119, 21.

Zonaras 9, 4.

ἀκτῖνα αὐτοῦ ἐς αὐτὸ εἰσεδέξατο καὶ τὸν ἀέρα ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῇ πυκνότητι καὶ τῇ λειότητι τοῦ κατόπτρου πυρώσας φλόγα τε μεγάλην ἐξέκαυσε καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐς τὰς ναῦς ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ὁδὸν ὁρμούσας ἐνέβαλε καὶ πάσας κατέκαυσεν.

Ἀπογνοὺς οὖν ὁ Μάρκελλος τὴν πόλιν αἱρήσειν διὰ τὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιμήδους εὐμήχανον, λιμῷ αὐτοὺς κατασχεῖν ἐκ προσεδρείας διεμελέτησε. καὶ ταύτας μὲν τῷ Πούλχρῳ ἐπέτρεψεν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς συναποστάντας σφίσιν ἐτράπετο· καὶ τοῖς μὲν γνωσιμαχοῦσι συγγνώμην ἔνεμε, τοὺς δ' ἀνθισταμένους μετεχειρίζετο χαλεπῶς, καὶ συχνὰς μὲν τῶν πόλεων βίᾳ, τινὰς δὲ καὶ προδοσίᾳ ᾕρει. ἐν τούτοις δ' Ἱμίλκων ἐκ Καρχηδόνος σὺν στρατῷ ἧκε, τὸν Ἀκράγαντά τε κατέσχε καὶ τὴν Ἡράκλειαν, καὶ πρὸς Συρακούσας ἐλθὼν ἡττήθη τε καὶ ἀντεπεκράτησε, καὶ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου ἐξαπίνης αὐτῷ προσπεσόντος αὖθις ἐνικήθη.

Tzetzes, Chil. 2, 123–28.

τέθεικεν ἀκτίνων τῶν ἡλίου | μεσημβρινῆς καὶ θερινῆς καὶ χειμεριωτάτης. | ἀνακλωμένων δὲ λοιπὸν εἰς τοῦτο τῶν ἀκτίνων | ἔξαψις ἤρθη φοβερὰ πυρώδης ταῖς ὁλκάσι, | καὶ ταύτας ἀπετέφρωσεν ἐκ μήκους τοξοβόλου. | οὕτω νικᾷ τὸν Μάρκελλον ταῖς μηχαναῖς ὁ γέρων.

Dio, Book XV. "For fear the Syracusans, in despair of assistance, might commit some act of rebellion."

Zonaras 9, 4.

mirror toward the sun he concentrated the sun's beam upon it; and owing to the thickness and smoothness of the mirror he ignited the air from this beam and kindled a great flame, the whole of which he directed upon the ships that lay at anchor in the path of the fire, until he consumed them all.

Marcellus, therefore, despairing of capturing the city on account of the inventiveness of Archimedes, planned to take it by famine after a regular investment. This duty he assigned to Pulcher, while he himself turned his attention to those who had revolted at the same time as Syracuse. Any who yielded were granted pardon, but those who resisted he treated harshly; and he captured a number of the cities by force, and some also by betrayal. In the meantime Himilco had come from Carthage with an army, had occupied Agrigentum and Heraclea, and had reached Syracuse. There he was at first defeated, then was in turn victorious, and finally was again beaten by a sudden assault on the part of Marcellus.

Tzetzes, Chil. 2, 123-28.

made the glass the centre of the sun's beams—its noontide beam, whether in summer or in the dead of winter. So after that, when the beams were reflected into this, a terrible kindling of flame arose upon the ships, and he reduced them to ashes a bow-shot off. Thus by his contrivances did the old man vanquish Marcellus.

Zonaras 9, 5.

5. Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Μάρκελλος ταῖς Συρακούσαις ἐφήδρευεν. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐν τῇ Καλαβρίᾳ διέτριβεν. οἱ μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι πολλὰ αὖθις καὶ δυσχερῆ πεπόνθασιν· οἵ τε γὰρ ὕπατοι πρὸς τῇ Καπύῃ ἔπταισαν, καὶ ὁ Γράκχος ἐν τῇ Λευκανίᾳ ἀπώλετο, καὶ οἱ Ταραντῖνοι καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις ἀπέστησαν, καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας κατεπτηχὼς πρότερον ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τε ἔμεινε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐστράτευσε, καὶ οἱ Σκιπίωνες ἄμφω διώλοντο. ἐπαρθεὶς οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπεχείρησε τῇ Καπύῃ βοηθῆσαι. καὶ ἦλθε μέχρι Βενεβεντοῦ· τὸν δὲ Κλαύδιον εἰς τὴν Λευκανίαν ἐκ τοῦ Σαυνίου διὰ τὸν τοῦ Γράκχου θάνατον ἀπεληλυθέναι πυθόμενος, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μή τινα αὐτῆς σφετερίσηται, οὐκέτι περαιτέρω προεχώρησεν, ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον δ' ἐτράπετο. τῶν Σκιπιώνων δὲ θανόντων πᾶσα ἡ Ἰβηρία τετάρακτο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἑκουσίως πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀπέκλινον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαζόμενοι, εἰ καὶ ὕστερον αὖθις πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπένευσαν.

Ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος ἐπεὶ μηδὲν προσβάλλων ταῖς Συρακούσαις ἐπέραινε, τοιοῦτόν τι ἐπενόησεν. ἦν τι τοῖς Συρακουσίοις τοῦ τείχους ἐπίμαχον ὃ Γαλεάγραν ὠνόμαζον, ὃ πρὶν μὲν ἐλάνθανε τοιοῦτον ὄν, τότε δὲ ἐφωράθη. τηρήσας οὖν τοὺς Συρακουσίους παννυχίδα τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἄγοντας πανδημεί, ἐκέλευσε στρατιώταις τισὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον ὑπερβῆναι τὸ τεῖχος. κἀκ τούτου πύλαι τέ τινες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνεῴχθησαν, καὶ εἰσελθόντων καὶ ἑτέρων, ἅμα πάντες ἀπὸ σημείου καὶ οἱ ἔσω καὶ οἱ ἔξω συνεβόησαν καὶ τοῖς δόρασι τὰς ἀσπίδας συνέκρουσαν καὶ οἱ σαλπιγκταὶ προσεπήχησαν, ὥστε ἀθρόαν τὴν ἔκπληξιν τοῖς Συρα-

Zonaras 9, 5.

5. After this Marcellus continued the investment of Syracuse. Hannibal was passing his time in Calabria. The Romans, however, again met with many reverses. The consuls received a setback near Capua, Gracchus perished in Lucania, Tarentum and other cities revolted, Hannibal, previously cowed, remained in Italy and marched upon Rome, and both the Scipios perished. Elated by these events, Hannibal undertook to render assistance to Capua. He went as far as Beneventum; then, ascertaining that Claudius had returned from Samnium into Lucania on account of the death of Gracchus, he became afraid that the Romans might secure control of parts of that region, and he advanced no farther, but turned to meet Claudius. Upon the death of the Scipios the whole of Spain was thrown into disorder; some towns voluntarily went over to the Carthaginians, and others under compulsion, though later they again leaned to the Roman side. B.C. 212

Marcellus, finding that he was accomplishing nothing by his assault on Syracuse, devised the following plan. There was a weak spot in the Syracusans' wall which they called Galeagra; it had never before been recognized as such, but the fact was discovered at this time. He waited until the whole city of Syracuse was celebrating an all-night festival to Artemis, and then bade some soldiers scale the wall at that point. Accordingly some of the gates were opened by these men, and as soon as a few others had entered, all, both inside and outside, at a given signal, raised a shout and struck their spears upon their shields, and the trumpeters blew a blast, with the result that utter panic overwhelmed

Zonaras 9, 5.

κουσίοις μηδ' ἄλλως εὖ ἔχουσιν ὑπὸ μέθης συμβῆναι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἁλῶναι πλὴν τῆς Ἀχραδίνης καὶ τῆς Νήσου καλουμένης. ὁ οὖν Μάρκελλος τά τε ἑαλωκότα διήρπασε καὶ τοῖς μὴ ἁλοῦσι προσέβαλε, καὶ σὺν πόνῳ μὲν καὶ χρόνῳ, ὅμως δ' οὖν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῆς Συρακούσης ἐκράτησεν. ἐγκρατεῖς δὲ τούτων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι γενόμενοι ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Ἀρχιμήδην ἀπέκτειναν. διάγραμμα γάρ τι διαγράφων καὶ ἀκούσας τοὺς πολεμίους ἐφίστασθαι, "πὰρ κεφαλάν," ἔφη, "καὶ μὴ παρὰ γραμμάν." ἐπιστάντος δὲ αὐτῷ πολεμίου βραχύ τε ἐφρόντισε καὶ εἰπών "ἀπόστηθι, ἄνθρωπε, ἀπὸ τῆς γραμμῆς," παρώξυνέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ κατεκόπη.

Tzetzes, Chil. 2, 136–49.

Ἦν κεκυφὼς διάγραμμα μηχανικόν τι γράφων, | τὶς δὲ Ῥωμαῖος ἐπιστὰς εἷλκεν αἰχμαλωτίζων. | ὁ δὲ τοῦ διαγράμματος ὅλος ὑπάρχων τότε, | τίς ὁ καθέλκων οὐκ εἰδὼς ἔλεγε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον· | "ἀπόστηθι, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, τοῦ διαγράμματός μου." | ὡς δ' εἷλκε τοῦτον, συστραφεὶς καὶ γνοὺς Ῥωμαῖον εἶναι, | ἐβόα· "τὶ μηχάνημά τις τῶν ἐμῶν μοι δότω." | ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαῖος πτοηθεὶς εὐθὺς ἐκεῖνον κτείνει, | ἄνδρα σαθρὸν καὶ γέροντα, δαιμόνιον τοῖς ἔργοις. | ἐθρήνησε δὲ Μάρκελλος τοῦτο μαθὼν εὐθέως, | λαμπρῶς τε τοῦτον ἔκρυψεν ἐν τάφοις τοῖς πατρῴοις | σὺν τοῖς ἀρίστοις πολιτῶν καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πᾶσι, | τὸν δὲ φονέα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οἶμαι πελέκει κτείνει. | ὁ Δίων καὶ Διόδωρος γράφει τὴν ἱστορίαν.

Zonaras 9, 5.

the Syracusans, who were in any case somewhat the worse for drink, and the city was captured with the exception of Achradina and what is called "The Island." Marcellus plundered the captured portions and assaulted those not yet taken, and with time and labour he finally succeeded in conquering the remainder of Syracuse. The Romans, when they became masters of these districts, killed many persons, among them Archimedes. He was constructing some figure or other, and hearing that the enemy were at hand, exclaimed: "Let them come at my head, but not at my line!" When a hostile warrior confronted him, he was little disturbed and called out: "Fellow, stand away from my line!" This exasperated the man and he struck him down.

Tzetzes, Chil. 2, 136–49.

He was bent over, drawing some mechanical figure, and a Roman, coming upon him, began to drag him off as his prisoner; but he, with all his attention fixed just then upon his figure, not knowing who it was that pulled him, said to the man: "Stand aside, fellow, from my figure." But as the other kept on pulling, he turned, and recognizing him as a Roman cried out: "Let somebody give me one of my machines." The Roman, in terror, immediately killed him, a decrepit old man, but marvellous for his works. Marcellus straightway mourned on learning this, and buried him with splendour in his ancestral tomb, assisted by the noblest citizens and all the Romans; and the man's murderer, I trow, he slew with an axe. Dio and Diodorus record the story.

Zonaras 9, 5-6.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Μάρκελλος τὰς Συρακούσας ἑλὼν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Σικελίας τὰ πλείω προσαγαγόμενος καὶ ἐπῃνεῖτο μεγάλως καὶ ὕπατος ἀποδέδεικτο. προεβάλοντο μὲν γὰρ τὸν Τορκουάτον, ὅς ποτε τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέκτεινεν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνος ἀπηνήνατο, εἰπὼν ὡς "οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ τὰ ὑμέτερα ἁμαρτήματα οὔτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἐνέγκοιτε," τὸν Μάρκελλον καὶ Λαουίνιον τὸν Οὐαλλέριον ἐχειροτόνησαν.

6. Ἀπελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου ἐκ Σικελίας, δύναμιν ἱππέων ἐς αὐτὴν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπέστειλε, καὶ ἑτέραν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἔπεμψαν· καὶ μάχαις τισὶν ἐνίκησαν καὶ πόλεις προσεποιήσαντο· καὶ εἴ γε μὴ Κορνήλιος Δολοβέλλας στρατηγὸς ἐπελήλυθε, πᾶσαν τὴν Σικελίαν ἐχειρώσαντο ἄν.

Καὶ ἡ Καπύη δὲ τότε ἑάλω παρὰ Ῥωμαίων, καίτοι τοῦ Ἀννίβου ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὁρμήσαντος, ἵν' ἀπὸ τῆς Καπύης τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας αὐτὴν ἀπάξῃ, καὶ διὰ τῶν Λατίνων ἐλάσαντος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Τίβεριν ἐλθόντος καὶ πορθοῦντος τὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος. οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐφοβήθησαν μέν, ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων ἐν Καπύῃ μεῖναι, τὸν δ' ἕτερον αὐτοῖς ἐπαμῦναι. καὶ Κλαύδιος μὲν ἐν τῇ Καπύῃ κατέμεινεν (ἐτέτρωτο γάρ), Φλάκκος δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείχθη.

Τοῦ δ' Ἀννίβου τάς τε καταδρομὰς ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῶν ἀεὶ ποιουμένου καὶ πολλὰ δεινὰ δρῶντος, τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἠγάπων, εἰ τά γε ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν περισώσαιντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἅμα προσβαλεῖν ἔμελλεν, ἀνερρίψαντο, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, κύβον, καὶ

Zonaras 9, 5–6.

Marcellus, as a result of capturing Syracuse and winning over most of the remainder of Sicily, received high praise, and was also appointed consul. The Romans had nominated Torquatus, who once had put his son to death, but he declined with the remark, "I could not endure your blunders, nor you my punctiliousness"; whereupon they elected Marcellus and Valerius Laevinus. B.C. 211

6. After Marcellus had left Sicily, Hannibal sent a force of cavalry there, and the Carthaginians despatched another. They won several battles and acquired some cities; and if the praetor Cornelius Dolabella had not come against them, they would have subjugated all Sicily.

Capua was at this time taken by the Romans. It availed not that Hannibal marched upon Rome in order to draw away from Capua the forces besieging it, that he traversed Latium, came to the Tiber, and was laying waste the suburbs of the city. The people of Rome were indeed frightened, but still they voted that one of the consuls[1] should remain at Capua while the other came to their defence. So Claudius remained at Capua, since he had been wounded, and Flaccus hastened to Rome.

Hannibal kept making his raids before their eyes and working much havoc, but for some time they were content to preserve their possessions within the walls. When, however, he was on the point of assaulting both the city and their armies at the same time, they risked the proverbial cast of the die and made

[1] Apparently an error of Zonaras for proconsuls.

Zonaras 9, 6.

ἐπεξέδραμον. καὶ ἀκροβολιζομένων ἤδη χειμὼν ἐξ αἰθρίας ἐξαίσιος ἐπεγένετο μετὰ πνεύματος ἀμηχάνου βροντῶν τε καὶ χαλάζης καὶ ἀστραπῶν, ὥστ᾽ ἄμφω ἀγαπητῶς ὡς ἐκ συνθήματος ἀναχωρεῖν ὅθεν ὥρμησαν. ἄρτι τε τὰ ὅπλα κατετίθεντο καὶ αἰθρία ἐγένετο. ὁ γοῦν Ἀννίβας, καίτοι οὐκ ἀθεεὶ λογισάμενος παρὰ τὸν τῆς συνόδου καιρὸν συνενεχθῆναι τὰ γεγονότα, ὅμως οὐκ ἀπέστη τῆς πολιορκίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὖθις μετὰ τοῦτο συμβαλεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τότε τὰ αὐτὰ συνέβη, κατέδεισε. καὶ προσεκπλαγεὶς ὅτι ἐν τηλικούτῳ κινδύνῳ ὄντες οὔτε τῆς Καπύης ἀπέστησαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ στρατηγὸν πέμψειν ἔμελλον, καὶ ὅτι χρημάτων δεηθέντες ἐπώλησαν ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἐστρατοπεδεύετο δημόσιον ὄν, καὶ ἀπογνούς, ἀπανέστη πολλάκις ἀναβοήσας "ὦ Κάνναι Κάνναι." καὶ οὐδὲ τῇ Καπύῃ ἔτ᾽ ἐπικουρῆσαι ἠθέλησεν.

Οἱ δὲ καίπερ ἐν ἀσθενεστάτοις ὄντες, ὅμως ἀπογνόντες ὡς οὐ τευξόμενοι συγγνώμης παρὰ Ῥωμαίων, ἀντεῖχον, καὶ τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ ἐπέστειλαν, βοηθήσειν αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦντες. συλληφθέντες δὲ οἱ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν κομισταὶ παρὰ τοῦ Φλάκκου, ὁ γὰρ Κλαύδιος ἔφθη τεθνηκὼς ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος, τὰς χεῖρας ἀπετμήθησαν. οὓς ἰδόντες οἱ Καμπανοὶ δεινῶς κατεπλάγησαν καὶ ὅ τι πράξουσιν ἐβουλεύοντο. λεχθέντων δὲ πολλῶν, Ἰούβιός τις Οὐίριος ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις αὐτῶν ὢν καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως αἰτιώτατος "μία ἡμῖν ἐστιν," ἔφη,

Zonaras 9, 6.

a sortie. They were already engaged in skirmishing when an extraordinary storm, accompanied by an inconceivably strong wind as well as thunder, hail, and lightning, broke from a clear sky, so that both sides were glad enough to retire, as if by mutual consent, to their original positions. They were just laying aside their arms when the sky became clear. Now although Hannibal concluded that this event, coming as it did precisely at the moment of conflict, had not occurred without divine ordering, yet he did not give up the siege, and even attempted again on a subsequent occasion to join battle. But when the same things occurred then also, he became terrified. He was amazed, moreover, that the Romans, although in so great danger, not only did not withdraw from Capua, but were even getting ready to send soldiers and a praetor into Spain, and that, being in need of funds, they sold along with other public lands the very spot where he was encamped. Accordingly, he retired in despair, often crying aloud, "O Cannae, Cannae!" And he no longer cared even to render aid to Capua.

The people of that city, although in the direst straits, still held out, since they despaired of obtaining pardon from the Romans; and they sent a letter to Hannibal begging him to assist them. The bearers of the letter were seized by Flaccus (Claudius had before this time died of his wound), and had their hands cut off. Upon seeing them, the Campanians were terribly dismayed and took counsel as to what they should do. After considerable talk a certain Jubius[1] Virius, one of the foremost men and one most responsible for the revolt, exclaimed: "Our only

[1] An error for Vibius.

46ª Δίων ἐν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ιε' "ἔκ τε γὰρ τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου ἀξιώσεως καὶ ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φιλίας οὐκ ἤνεγκαν δικαιωθέντες ἀλλ' ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ οἱ Καμπανοὶ τοῦ Φλάκκου καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι τοῦ Μαρκέλλου κατηγορῆσαι. καὶ ἐδικαιώθησαν[1] ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ.—Suidas *s.v.* ἐδικαιώθησαν, Lex. Seguer. ed. Bachm. Anecd. Gr. 1. 206, Cram. Anecd. Par. 4. 168, καὶ οὐκ ἤνεγκαν—συνεδρίῳ Etym. Magn. p. 316, 9 Gaisf.

Zonaras 9, 6.

"καταφυγὴ καὶ ἐλευθερία ὁ θάνατος. καί μοι ἀκολουθήσατε οἴκαδε· ἔχω γάρ τι φάρμακον παρεσκευασμένον." καὶ ὁ μὲν παραλαβὼν τοὺς αὐτῷ πεισθέντας ἑκούσιος ἀπέθανε σὺν αὐτοῖς, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πύλας τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀνέῳξαν· ὁ δὲ Φλάκκος τά τε ὅπλα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἀφείλετο, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν κορυφαίων τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμψε, μόνων δ' ἀπέσχετο τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὁμίλου περιλειφθέντων, ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ ἄρχοντα αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαῖον λαμβάνειν καὶ μήτε βουλὴν ἔχειν μήτε σύνοδον ποιεῖσθαι.

Ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ προσεπῶφλον, κατηγορῆσαι τοῦ Φλάκκου τολμήσαντες. ἐπεχείρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Καμπανοὶ τοῦ Φλάκκου κατηγορῆσαι, καὶ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου οἱ Συρακούσιοι ὑπατεύοντος ἤδη. καὶ ἀπελογήσατο· οὐ γὰρ ἠθέλησε πρᾶξαί τι τῶν τῇ ἀρχῇ προσηκόντων πρὶν ἀπολογήσασθαι. οἱ Συρακούσιοι δὲ κατα-

[1] καὶ ἐδικαιώθησαν based on Suid. cod. A (κατεδικαιώθησαν), κατεδικάσθησαν Suid. cod. B, καὶ κατεδικάσθησαν Suid. cod. E, καὶ ἐδικάσθησαν Etym. M., Lex. Seguer., Cram. cod.

Dio, *Roman History*, XV. "For in view of their very ancient prestige and their long-standing friendship for the Romans, they would not submit to their condemnation, but the Campanians undertook to accuse Flaccus and the Syracusans Marcellus. And the accusers were condemned in the senate.

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refuge and freedom is in death. Accompany me home. I have a poison made ready." So he took with him those who were willing to accept his advice, and with them voluntarily sought death. The rest opened the gates to the Romans. Flaccus took away all their arms and money, put to death some of the chief men, and sent others to Rome. The only ones that he left unmolested were the survivors of the common people, and he spared them only on condition that they receive a Roman governor, maintain no senate, and hold no assembly.

Later they incurred further penalties by daring to accuse Flaccus. The Campanians undertook to accuse Flaccus, and the Syracusans Marcellus, when the latter was already consul. And Marcellus made a defence; for he refused to perform any of the duties of his office until he had defended himself. The Syracusans, when given a hearing, presented their case

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στάντες εἰς λόγους οἰκονομικώτερον τῇ διαλέξει ἐχρήσαντο, οὐκ εἰς κατηγορίαν τοῦ Μαρκέλλου, ἀλλ' εἰς ἱκετείαν τραπέντες καὶ ἀπολογίαν τοῦ μὴ ἑκόντες ἀποστῆναι Ῥωμαίων, καὶ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἀξιοῦντες. καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντες εἰς τὴν γῆν πεσόντες ὠλοφύροντο. καὶ διαγνώμης γενομένης ἔδοξε τὸν Μάρκελλον μὲν μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, τοὺς μέντοι Συρακουσίους φιλανθρωπίας τινὸς ἀξίους εἶναι, οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἐποίησαν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν εἶπόν τε καὶ ἱκέτευσαν. τοῦ δὲ Μαρκέλλου παραιτησαμένου τὸ ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Σικελίαν, τὸν Λαουίνιον ἔπεμψαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Συρακούσιοι οὕτω συγγνώμης τινὸς ἔτυχον, οἱ δὲ Καμπανοὶ ὑπ' ἀπαιδευσίας θρασύτερον τῇ κατηγορίᾳ χρησάμενοι καὶ ἐπετιμήθησαν, μηδὲ παρόντος τοῦ Φλάκκου, ἀλλά τινος τῶν ὑπεστρατηγηκότων αὐτῷ ἀπολογησαμένου.

Ἁλούσης δὲ τῆς Καπύης καὶ τἄλλα τὰ πέριξ πολίσματα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσκεχωρήκασι πλὴν Ἀτελανῶν· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐκλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν πανδημεὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐχώρησαν. καὶ ἡ ἄλλη δὲ Ἰταλία ἡ τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων φρονοῦσα ἠλλοιοῦτο, καὶ περιιόντες οἱ ὕπατοι προσεποιοῦντο αὐτήν. Ταραντῖνοι δὲ φανερῶς μὲν οὐδέπω τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ᾑροῦντο, λάθρᾳ δὲ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἤχθοντο.

tactfully: they devoted themselves not to accusing Marcellus, but to supplication and defence, declaring that they had not of their own free will revolted from the Romans, and asking for pardon. While making this plea they fell upon the ground and bewailed their lot. When a decision was rendered, it was to the effect that Marcellus was not guilty, but that the Syracusans, nevertheless, were deserving of some leniency, not for their deeds, but for their pleas and entreaties. But Marcellus asked to be excused from returning to Sicily, and they sent Laevinus. The Syracusans in this way obtained some consideration; but the Campanians, being led by stupidity to deliver their accusation with too much audacity, actually had their punishment increased. And yet Flaccus was not present, but one of his ex-lieutenants conducted his defence for him.

After the capture of Capua the other strongholds in the vicinity went over to the Romans, with the exception of Atella. The inhabitants of this place abandoned their city and went in a body to Hannibal. Also the rest of Italy that had favoured the Carthaginian cause was changing sentiment, and the consuls in their tours of the country were taking possession of it. The Tarentines did not as yet openly avow their allegiance to the Romans, but secretly they were getting tired of the Carthaginians.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XVI

57, 36 Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διεκηρυκεύσαντο τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ ἀνταπόδοσιν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀξιοῦντες γενέσθαι, οὐ κατηλλάξαντο δὲ αὐτούς, καίπερ καὶ ἐκείνου Καρθάλωνα ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀντιπέμψαντος· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ[1] οὐκ ἐδέξαντο αὐτὸν εἴσω τοῦ τείχους κατὰ τὸ πολέμιον, οὐδὲ ἐς λόγους αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς δι' ὀργῆς ἀνέστρεψεν.—U[R] 7 (p. 379).

Zonaras 9, 6–7.

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διεκηρυκεύσαντο τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ ἀνταπόδοσιν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ποιήσασθαι. οὐ κατηλλάξαντο δὲ αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τὸν Καρθάλωνα τοῦ τείχους ἐντός, ὡς πολέμιον· οὐδ' ἐς λόγους γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν ἠθέλησεν, εὐθὺς δὲ ὠργισμένος ἀνέστρεψε.

Τότε μέντοι καὶ ὁ Λαουίνιος τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς συμμαχοῦντας Φιλίππῳ προσηταιρίσατο, καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον μέχρι Κερκύρας προχωρήσαντα αὖθις ἐξεφόβησεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν τάχει ἐπανελθεῖν.

7. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ Γάιον Κλαύδιον Νέρωνα εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ἔπεμψαν. καὶ ὃς παρεκομίσθη τῷ ναυτικῷ μέχρι τοῦ Ἴβηρος,

[1] γὰρ Leuncl., δὲ Mss.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XVI

The Romans made overtures to Hannibal, asking for a return of the prisoners on both sides, but they did not effect the exchange, although he sent Carthalo to them for this very purpose. For the envoy, when they would not receive him within the walls because he was an enemy, refused to hold any conversation with them, but immediately turned back in a rage. B.C. 210

Zonaras 9, 6–7.

The people of Rome made overtures to Hannibal for a return of the prisoners on both sides. But they did not effect the exchange because they would not receive Carthalo, an enemy, inside of their walls. And he refused to hold any conversation with them, but immediately turned back enraged.

Laevinus, however, made friends at this time with the Aetolians, who were allies of Philip; and when Philip advanced as far as Corcyra, he frightened him away again, so that the king returned in haste to Macedonia.

7. The people of Rome sent Gaius Claudius Nero with soldiers into Spain. He sailed along with his fleet as far as the Iberus, and finding the remainder

38 Ὅτι ὁ Σκιπίων ὁ τὸν πατέρα τρωθέντα σώσας, ὁ στρατηγός, ἦν καὶ φύσεως ἀρετῇ κράτιστος καὶ παιδείᾳ λογιμώτατος, τό τε φρόνημα καὶ τὸ τῆς

Zonaras 9, 7.

ἔνθα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ στρατεύματα εὑρηκὼς ἐπῆλθε τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ πρὶν γνωσθῆναι ὅτι πάρεστι. καὶ περιστοιχισάμενος αὐτὸν ἠπατήθη. ἰδὼν γὰρ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ὡς ἀπείληπται, προεκηρυκεύσατο πρὸς τὸν Νέρωνα ὥστε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πᾶσαν ἀφεθεὶς ἐκλιπεῖν. ὡς δ' ἐκεῖνος ἀσμένως τοὺς λόγους ἐδέξατο, ἀναβαλλόμενος ἵνα τὰς συνθήκας τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ποιήσηται, ὑπεξέπεμψε τῆς νυκτὸς ἄλλους ἄλλῃ τῶν ὀρῶν. διεξελθόντων δ' ἐκείνων, ἅτε μὴ φυλακῆς οὔσης παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὰς τῶν σπονδῶν ἐλπίδας, ἦλθε μὲν τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἐς λόγους τῷ Νέρωνι, κατέτριψε δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πρίν τι ἐπικυρωθῆναι. καὶ ἄλλους αὖθις τῆς νυκτὸς ὁμοίως ἀπέπεμψε. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις τισὶν ἡμέραις ὁμοίως πεποίηκεν, ἀμφισβητῶν τινα ἐν τῇ συμβάσει. προελθόντων δὲ τῶν πεζῶν ἁπάντων, τέλος καὶ αὐτὸς σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἐλέφασιν ὑπεξεχώρησε. καὶ διασωθεὶς φοβερὸς αὖθις τῷ Νέρωνι ἐγένετο.

Μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τοῦ Νέρωνος μὲν κατέγνων, ἄλλῳ δέ τινι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐψηφίσαντο ἐγχειρίσαι. ἀπορούντων οὖν τίνα ἂν ἀποστείλωσιν (οὐ γὰρ τοῦ τυχόντος ἀνδρὸς ἐδεῖτο τὰ πράγματα καὶ πολλοὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν Σκιπιώνων πάθος ἐξίσταντο), ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκεῖνος ὁ Πούπλιος ὁ τὸν πατέρα τρωθέντα σώσας ἑαυτὸν ἐθελοντὴς εἰς τὴν στρατείαν ἐπέδωκεν. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀρετῇ

Scipio, the general, who had saved his wounded father, had splendid native ability supplemented by an excellent education, and displayed the

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Zonaras 9, 7.

of the Roman forces there, he confronted Hasdrubal before his presence had become known; and then, after hemming him in, he was cheated out of his victory in the following manner. Hasdrubal, finding himself cut off, made a proposition to Nero to give up the whole of Spain and leave the country. Nero gladly accepted the offer, and his opponent put off the settlement of the terms until the following day. That night Hasdrubal quietly sent out a number of his men to various parts of the mountains, and they got safely away, because the Romans, in expectation of a truce, were not keeping guard. The next day he held a conference with Nero, but used up the whole time without reaching any conclusion. That night he again sent off other men in like manner. This he did similarly on several other days while disputing some points in the treaty. When the entire infantry had gone on ahead, he himself at last with the cavalry and elephants silently slipped away. Thus he reached safety, and again became a formidable adversary for Nero.

On learning this the people of Rome blamed Nero, and voted to entrust the command to somebody else. And they were at a loss whom to send, for the situation required no ordinary man, and many were declining the position on account of the fate of the Scipios. Thereupon that Publius Scipio, who had saved his wounded father, offered himself voluntarily for the campaign. He had splendid ability

γνώμης καὶ τὸ τῶν λόγων, ὁπότε γε καὶ τούτου ἔδει, μέγιστον εἶχε, καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐβεβαίου, ὥστε καὶ μεγαλόφρων καὶ μεγαλοπράγμων, οὐκ ἐκ κενοῦ αὐχήματος ἀλλ'
39 ἐξ ἐχεγγύου διανοίας, δοκεῖν εἶναι. διά τε οὖν ταῦτα, καὶ διότι καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀκριβῶς ἤγαλλεν, ἐχειροτονήθη. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτ' οὖν δημόσιον οὔτ' ἴδιον πρὶν ἔς τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀναβῆναι καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἐνδιατρῖψαι ἐνεχειρίζετο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φήμην ἔλαβεν ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς ἐς δράκοντα ἐν τῇ πρὸς[1] τὴν[2] μητέρα αὐτοῦ συνουσίᾳ μεταβαλόντος γεγεννῆσθαι. καί τινας καὶ ἐκ τούτου πολλοῖς ἐλπίδας ἐς αὐτὸν[3] ἐνεποίει.—V. 40 (p. 601); διά τε οὖν—ἤγαλλεν (§ 39) Phot. Lex. (= Suidas, Etym. Magn. and Bachm. Anecd. Gr. 1, 248) *s.v.* ἤγαλλεν, all with: Δίων ἐν ιϛ′ λόγῳ Ῥωμαϊκῶν.[4]

40 Ὅτι ὁ Σκιπίων καὶ μὴ ἐννόμου ἡγεμονίας λαβὼν ὄνομα ἐξ ὧν ἐχειροτονήθη, τὸ στρατόπεδον

Zonaras 9, 7.

κράτιστος καὶ παιδείᾳ λογιμώτατος. καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν ᾑρέθη· μεταμέλον δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον διά τε τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ (τέταρτον γὰρ καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος τῆς ζωῆς ἦγε) καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ θείου ὄλεθρον ἐπένθει, ἦλθεν αὖθις εἰς τὸ κοινὸν καὶ ἐδημηγόρησε, καὶ οἷς εἶπε καταιδέσας τοὺς τῆς βουλῆς, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀφῃρέθη, Μάρκος δὲ Ἰούνιος ἀνὴρ γηραιὸς προσεπέμφθη αὐτῷ.

[1] πρὸς supplied by Val.
[2] τὴν supplied by Bk.
[3] αὐτὸν Bk., αὑτὸν Ms.
[4] At this point perhaps should be inserted Frg. 70, 2–3. See p. 389, note.

greatest nobility of mind, and of language as well, whenever there was occasion for this; and this quality was especially conspicuous in his acts, so that he seemed to be a man at once of lofty purpose and lofty achievement, not from any vain boastfulness, but as the result of a steadfast determination. It was for these reasons, and because he scrupulously paid honours to the gods, that he was elected; in fact he would never undertake any public or private enterprise before ascending to the Capitol and spending some time there. On this account he acquired the reputation of having sprung from Jupiter, who had taken the form of a serpent on the occasion of intercourse with his mother; and this reputation was responsible in part for the hopes which he caused many to place in him.

Scipio, although he did not receive the legal title of commander at the time of his election, nevertheless

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Zonaras 9, 7.

supplemented by an excellent education. And he was chosen at once; but not long afterward they regretted their action because of his youth (he was in his twenty-fourth year), and also because his house was in mourning for the loss of his father and uncle. Accordingly, he came before the people a second time and addressed them; and by his remarks he put the senators to shame, so that he was not deprived of the command, although Marcus Junius, an elderly man, was sent with him.

προσφιλὲς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἤσκησεν ἐξηργηκότας ἐκ τῆς ἀναρχίας καὶ ἀνεκτήσατο κατεπτηχότας ἐκ τῶν συμφορῶν. τόν τε Μάρκιον οὐχ, οἷά που φιλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοί, ἀνεπιτήδειον ἡγήσατο[1] ὅτι εὐδοκιμηκὼς ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἀεὶ ἐσέμνυνεν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν οἷος οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πέλας διαβολῆς καὶ καθαιρέσεως ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς αὔξεσθαι θέλειν.[2] καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε οὐχ ἥκιστα τοὺς στρατιώτας ᾠκειώσατο. —V. 41 (p. 602).

Zonaras 9, 7.

Τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰ πράγματα οὐκ ἀταλαιπώρως ἐχώρησεν εἰς τὸ βέλτιον. ὁ γὰρ Μάρκελλος, ἐπειδὴ κατηγορηθεὶς ἀπελύθη, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα δι' ἀσφαλείας ἐποιεῖτο, δεδιὼς πρὸς ἀπονενοημένους διακινδυνεῦσαι· εἰ δέ ποτε ἠναγκάσθη προσμῖξαι, κρείττων ἐκ φρονήσεως εὐτολμίᾳ κεκραμένης ἐγίνετο. ὁ οὖν Ἀννίβας διά τε ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι αἱ πόλεις αἱ συμμαχοῦσαι αὐτῷ αἱ μὲν ἐγκαταλελοίπεσαν αὐτόν, αἱ δὲ διενοοῦντο, καὶ δι' ἕτερ' ἄττα κακῶσαι τὰ χωρία ἃ μὴ κατέχειν οἷός τ'[3] ἦν ἐπεχείρησε. καὶ πολλοῖς ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ πλείους διὰ τοῦτο ἀφίσταντο.

Περὶ δὲ Σαλπίαν πόλιν τοιόνδε τι συνέπεσε. δύο ἄνδρες τὰ πράγματα αὐτῶν εἶχον διάφοροί τε ἀλλήλοις ἦσαν. καὶ Ἀλίνιος μὲν τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐφρόνει, Πλαύτιος δὲ τὰ τῶν Ῥω-

[1] ἡγήσατο Bk., εἰργάσατο Ms. [2] θέλειν St., θέλων Ms.
[3] οἷός τ' Kuiper, οἷος Mss.

made the army his friend, drilled the men who had become sluggish through want of a commander, and brought them out of the terror with which their misfortunes had filled them. As for Marcius,[1] Scipio did not, as most men would have done, treat him as an enemy because he had acquired popularity, but both in word and deed always showed him respect. He was the sort of man to wish to make his way not by slandering and overthrowing his neighbour, but by his own excellence. And it was this as much as anything that enabled him to conciliate the soldiers.

Zonaras 9, 7.

After these events the situation improved for the Romans, yet not without a hard struggle. Marcellus, after his acquittal, set out against Hannibal and for the most part acted on the safe side, since he was afraid to risk an engagement with men driven to desperation; and if at any time he was forced into a combat, he came out victorious as the result of prudence mingled with daring. Accordingly Hannibal, both on this account, and because the cities in his alliance had either abandoned him or were intending to do so, and for certain other reasons, undertook to ravage those regions which he was unable to hold; so he devastated many districts, with the result that still larger numbers deserted to the Romans.

In the case of the city of Salapia the following incident occurred. Two men managed affairs there who were hostile to each other: Alinius[2] favoured the Carthaginian cause, and Plautius[2] the Roman;

[1] L. Marcius, chosen commander by the soldiers after the death of the Scipios.

[2] The names Alinius and Plautius are corruptions of some copyist for Dasius and Blattius.

Zonaras 9, 7–8.

μαίων, ὃς καὶ διειλέχθη τῷ Ἀλινίῳ περὶ προδοσίας τῆς εἰς Ῥωμαίους. μηνύσαντός τε εὐθὺς ἐκείνου τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ ταῦτα, ἐς δίκην ὑπήχθη ὁ Πλαύτιος. βουλευομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀννίβου μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων ὅπως αὐτὸν κολάσει, ἐτόλμησεν ἐπ' ὄψει αὐτοῦ τῷ Ἀλινίῳ πέλας που ὄντι περὶ προδοσίας αὖθις εἰπεῖν. ἀναβοήσαντος δ' ἐκείνου "ἴδε ἴδε, καὶ νῦν μοι περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου λαλεῖ," οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν ὁ Ἀννίβας διὰ τὸ ἄτοπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς συκοφαντούμενον αὐτὸν ἀπέλυσεν. ἀφεθέντος δὲ ὡμονόησαν ἄμφω, καὶ στρατιώτας παρὰ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου ἐπαγαγόμενοι τήν τε φρουρὰν τῶν Καρχηδονίων κατέκοψαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παρέδοσαν.

Καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἔσχον τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τὰ πράγματα· καὶ οὐδ' ἡ Σικελία ἦν εὐνοοῦσα αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὑπάτῳ τῷ Λαουινίῳ προσεχώρουν. ἡγεῖτο μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Καρχηδονίων Ἄννων, συνεστρατεύετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Μουτίνας. ὃς συνὼν τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ πρῴην, καὶ φθονηθεὶς ὅτι μεγάλα ἔργα ἀρετῆς ἐπεδείκνυτο, ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπέμφθη. ὡς οὖν κἀκεῖ λαμπρῶς ἱππάρχει, φθόνον καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Ἄννωνος ὦφλε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἱππαρχίας ἐπαύθη. περιαλγὴς γοῦν διὰ ταῦτα γενόμενος πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπέκλινε. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν προδοσίαν Ἀκράγαντος συνέπραξε σφίσιν, εἶτα καὶ τἆλλα συγκατειργάσατο, ὥστε πᾶσαν αὖθις τὴν Σικελίαν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ἄνευ μεγάλου πόνου γενέσθαι.

8. Ὁ δὲ Φάβιος καὶ ὁ Φλάκκος ἄλλας τε πόλεις πολλὰς καὶ τὸν Τάραντα, τοῦ Ἀννίβου κατέ-

Zonaras 9, 7–8.

and the latter even talked with Alinius about betraying the place to the Romans. Alinius at once informed Hannibal of the fact, and Plautius was brought to trial. While Hannibal was deliberating with his advisers how to punish him, Plautius dared in his presence to speak again to Alinius, who stood near, about betrayal. But when the latter cried out, "There, there, he's talking to me about this very matter now," Hannibal distrusted him on account of the improbability of the matter and acquitted Plautius as a victim of blackmail. After his release the two men came to an understanding, and brought in soldiers obtained from Marcellus, with whose aid they cut down the Carthaginian garrison and delivered the city to the Romans.

This was the state of Carthaginian interests in Italy. And not even Sicily retained its friendliness for them, but was siding with the consul Laevinus. The leader of the Carthaginians in Sicily was Hanno, and Muttines was a member of his staff. Muttines had been with Hannibal formerly, but owing to the latter's jealousy of his great deeds of valour had been sent into Sicily. When he made a brilliant record there also as commander of the cavalry, he incurred the jealousy of Hanno likewise, and in consequence was deprived of his command. Deeply grieved at this, he joined the Romans. And first he aided them in the betrayal of Agrigentum; then he helped them in reducing the other places, so that the whole of Sicily came again under their sway without any great trouble.

8. Fabius and Flaccus subdued, among other cities, Tarentum, which Hannibal was holding. They had B.C. 209

42 Ὅτι στάσεως γενομένης τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁ Σκιπίων συχνὰ μὲν τοῖς στρατιώταις διέδωκε,

Zonaras 9, 8.

χοντος αὐτόν, ἐχειρώσαντο. κελεύσαντες γάρ τισι τὴν Βρεττίαν κατατρέχειν, ἵν' ὁ Ἀννίβας εἰς ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῆς ἀπάρῃ ἐκ Τάραντος, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, Φλάκκος μὲν ἐκεῖνον ἐπετήρει, Φάβιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ νυκτὸς τῷ Τάραντι ταῖς τε ναυσὶν ἅμα καὶ τῷ πεζῷ προσβαλών, τῇ τε προσβολῇ καὶ προδοσίᾳ εἷλε τὴν πόλιν. ὁ οὖν Ἀννίβας διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην ἀχθόμενος ἀντεπιβουλεῦσαι τῷ Φαβίῳ ἐσπούδασε. καὶ ἐπιστολὴν αὐτῷ ἐκ Μεταποντίου ὡς παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ τῆς πόλεως ἔπεμψεν, ἐλπίσας ἀπερισκέπτως αὐτὸν προσιόντα ἐνεδρεύσειν. καὶ ὃς ὑπετόπησε τὸ πραττομενον, καὶ παραβαλὼν τὰ γράμματα ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἃς τοῖς Ταραντίνοις ποτὲ ἐγεγράφει, κατεφώρασεν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν ὁμοιότητος τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα.

Σκιπίων δὲ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, εἰ καὶ τιμωρῆσαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ θείῳ ἐγλίχετο καὶ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου δόξης ὠρέγετο, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠπείγετο διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων. ἐπεὶ δ' ᾔσθετο αὐτοὺς χειμάζοντας πόρρω ποι, ἐκείνους μὲν εἴα, ἐς δὲ τὴν Καρχηδόνα τὴν ταύτῃ ὥρμησεν· οὐ μέντοι τις τὸ παράπαν τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ ἔγνωκε πρὶν πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ Καρχηδόνι γενέσθαι· καὶ ἔλαβε σὺν πόνῳ τὴν πόλιν.

Ἁλούσης δὲ τῆς Καρχηδόνος στάσις μεγίστη μικροῦ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐγένετο ἄν. τοῦ γὰρ

When a mutiny of the soldiers took place, Scipio distributed many gifts to the soldiers and set apart

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Zonaras 9, 8.

given orders to a body of men to overrun Bruttium, in order that Hannibal might leave Tarentum and go to its assistance; and when it had turned out thus, Flaccus kept watch of Hannibal, while Fabius by night assailed Tarentum with ships and infantry at the same time, and captured the city by means of the assault, aided by betrayal. Hannibal, angry at this trick, was eager to find some scheme for paying Fabius back. So he sent him a letter from Metapontum, purporting to be from the inhabitants, and proposing the betrayal of the city; for he hoped that Fabius would advance carelessly in that direction, and that he might set a trap for him on the way. But the Roman leader suspected the truth of the matter, and by comparing the writing with the letters which Hannibal had once written to the Tarentines, he detected the plot from their similarity.

Scipio, however much he longed to avenge his father and uncle, and however much he yearned for glory in the war, nevertheless for a time showed no haste on account of the multitude of his opponents. But when he ascertained that they were passing the winter at a considerable distance, he disregarded them and marched upon Carthage (the Spanish town); no one, however, gained the slightest knowledge of his march till he had come close to Carthage itself. And by great exertion he took the city.

Following the capture of Carthage, a most serious mutiny of the soldiers came very near taking place.

συχνὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀπέδειξε. τῶν τε αἰχμαλώτων ἐς τὸ ναυτικὸν κατέταξεν, καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους προῖκα πάντας τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀπέδωκε. καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὶ μὲν δῆμοι πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ δυνάσται, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἰνδίβιλις[1] καὶ Μαν-
43 δόνιος Ἰλεργητανοί,[2] προσεχώρησαν. τό τε τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἔθνος πλεῖστόν τε καὶ ἰσχυρότατον τῶν περιχώρων ὃν ὧδε προσέθετο. παρθένον ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἐπιφανῆ κάλλει λαβὼν ὑπωπτεύθη μὲν ἄλλως ἔσεσθαι αὐτῆς[3] ἐν ἔρωτι, μαθὼν δὲ ὅτι Ἀλλουκίῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει Κελτι-

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Zonaras 9, 8.

Σκιπίωνος στέφανον ὑποσχομένου δώσειν τῷ πρώτῳ τοῦ τείχους ἐπιβάντι, δύο ἄνδρες, ὁ μὲν Ῥωμαῖος, ὁ δ' ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων, περὶ αὐτοῦ ἠμφισβήτησαν. διαφερομένων δ' ἐκείνων καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐθορυβήθη, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐταράχθησαν, ὥστε καὶ δεινόν τι δρᾶσαι, εἰ μὴ ὁ Σκιπίων καὶ ἄμφω ἐστεφάνωσε, καὶ συχνὰ μὲν τοῖς στρατιώταις διέδωκε, συχνὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις προσένειμε, καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ κατεχομένους ὁμήρους προῖκα πάντας τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀπέδωκεν. ὅθεν πολλοὶ μὲν δῆμοι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ δυνάσται αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν, καὶ τὸ τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἔθνος πρὸς τοῖς λοιποῖς. παρθένον γὰρ ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις λαβὼν κάλλει ἐπιφανῆ, ἐνομίσθη μὲν ἔσεσθαι αὐτῆς ἐν ἔρωτι, μαθὼν δὲ ὅτι τινὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει Κελτιβήρων ἐγγεγύηται, μετε-

[1] Ἰνδίβιλις suggested by Bs. (cf. Zon. 9, 10), Ἰνδίβολις Ms.
[2] Ἰλεργητανοί St., ἰαγερτανοί Ms. [3] αὐτῆς Reim., αὐτὸς Ms.

many also for the public treasury. He appointed some of the captives to service in the fleet and gave back all the hostages to their relatives without ransom. For this reason many towns and many princes, among them Indibilis and Mandonius of the Ilergetes, came over to his side. The Celtiberian race, the largest and strongest of those in that region, he gained in the following way. He had taken among the captives a maiden distinguished for her beauty, and it was supposed, on general principles, that he would fall in love with her; but when he learned that she was betrothed to Allucius, one of the Celtiberian

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Zonaras 9, 8.

Scipio had promised to give a crown to the first one who scaled the wall, and two men, the one a Roman, the other belonging to the allies, quarrelled over it. Their continued dispute promoted a disturbance among the rest of the soldiery as well, and they became so greatly excited that they would have committed some fearful deed, had not Scipio crowned both men. He also distributed many gifts to the soldiers, and assigned many also to public uses; and he gave back to their relatives without ransom all the hostages who were being detained there. As a result, many towns and many princes espoused his cause, the Celtiberian race among the rest. For he had taken among the captives a maiden distinguished for her beauty, and it was thought that he would fall in love with her; but when he learned that she was betrothed to one of the Celtiberian magis-

βήρων ἠγγύηται, μετεπέμψατό τε αὐτὸν αὐτεπάγγελτος, καὶ τὴν παῖδα αὐτῷ παρέδωκε μετὰ τῶν λύτρων ἅπερ οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῆς ἐκεκομίκεσαν. κἀκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου καὶ ἐκείνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνηρτήσατο.—V. 42 (p. 602).

48 Ὅτι ὁ Σκιπίων δεινὸς μὲν ἦν ἐν ταῖς στρατηγίαις, ἐπιεικὴς δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις, καὶ ἐς μὲν τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους αὐτῷ φοβερός, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ὑπείκοντας φιλάνθρωπος. καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ τε θείου δόξης πλεῖστον ἐς πίστιν ὧν ἐποίει, τῷ δοκεῖν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἐκ γένους ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ προστυχόντος εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἴσχυε. τότε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπί τε τῷ τάχει τῆς νίκης, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἐς τὴν μεσογείαν ἀνεχώρησεν, μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐθείασεν, εἴτ' οὖν

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πέμψατο αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν νεᾶνιν αὐτῷ παραδέδωκε, προσεπιδοὺς καὶ τὰ λύτρα ἃ οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῇ προσεκόμισαν. κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἐκείνους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνηρτήσατο.

Μαθὼν δὲ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν τοῦ Ἀννίβου ἀδελφὸν σπουδῇ ἐπιόντα καὶ ἀγνοοῦντα ἔτι τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἅλωσιν καὶ μηδὲν προσδοκῶντα κατὰ τὴν πορείαν πολέμιον, προαπήντησεν[1] αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοῦ κρατήσας ἐνηυλίσατο, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐκεῖ προσεποιήσατο. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς στρατηγίαις δεινός, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁμιλίαις ἐπιεικής, καὶ ἐς μὲν τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους φοβερός, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ὑπείκοντας καὶ μάλα φιλάνθρωπος,

[1] προαπήντησεν Bs., προσαπήντησεν Mss.

magistrates, he voluntarily sent for him and delivered the girl to him along with the ransom her kinsmen had brought. As a result of this act he attached to his cause both these and the rest of the nation.

Scipio was stern in the exercise of his command, but agreeable in familar intercourse, terrifying to his opponents, yet humane to such as yielded. Furthermore, through his father's and his uncle's reputation he was thoroughly able to inspire confidence in what he did, because it was felt that he owed his fame to inherited excellence and not to chance. But now, more than ever, the swiftness of his victory, the fact that Hasdrubal had retreated into the interior, and especially the fact that he had made a prediction,

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Zonaras 9, 8.

trates, he sent for him and delivered the maid to him, bestowing upon him also the ransom which her kinsmen brought for her. As a result, he attached to his cause both these and the remainder of the nation.

Next he learned that Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, was approaching rapidly, still ignorant of the capture of the city, and expecting to meet no hostile force on his march. Scipio, therefore, advanced to meet him and defeated him, and afterward bivouacked in his camp, and won over many people in the vicinity. He was stern in the exercise of his command, but agreeable in familiar intercourse, terrifying to opponents, yet thoroughly humane to such as yielded. And especially the fact that he had made

παρὰ δαιμονίου τινὸς μαθὼν εἴτε κατὰ τύχην, ὅτι ἐν τῇ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδεύσοιτο, ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο, πάντες μὲν αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ κρείττω σφῶν ὄντα ἐτίμων, οἱ δὲ Ἴβηρες καὶ βασιλέα μέγαν ὠνόμαζον.—V. 43 (p. 605).

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μάλιστα δ' ὅτι καὶ ἐθείασε, προειπὼν ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδεύσοιτο, πάντες ἐτίμων αὐτόν· οἱ δ' Ἴβηρες καὶ βασιλέα μέγαν ὠνόμαζον.

Ὁ δ' Ἀσδρούβας ἀπελπίσας τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀπᾶραι πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐβούλετο. καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι συσκευασάμενος ὁ μὲν ὥρμητο, οἱ δὲ συστράτηγοι αὐτοῦ κατὰ χώραν μείναντες ἀσχολίαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι παρεῖχον, ὥστε μὴ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπιδιῶξαι μήτε τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπικουφίσαι τὸν πόλεμον γενομένῳ ἐκεῖ, ἢ πρὸς τὴν Καρχηδόνα πλεῦσαι. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τὸν μὲν Ἀσδρούβαν οὐκ ἐπεδίωξε, πέμψας δὲ δρομοκήρυκας τὴν πρόσοδον αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δι' αὐτῶν προεκήρυξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν ἐν χερσὶν εἴχετο. καὶ ὁρῶν τοὺς ἐναντίους πολλαχῇ τῆς χώρας ὄντας, ἐδεδίει μή τισιν αὐτῶν προσμίξας εἰς ἓν ἅπαντας συναγάγῃ ἀλλήλοις ἐπικουρήσοντας. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν Γίσγωνος, Σιλανὸν δὲ ἐς Κελτιβηρίαν ἐπὶ Μάγωνα, καὶ Λούκιον Σκιπίωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐς Βαστιτανίαν ἔπεμψεν. ὃς ἐκείνην τε πολέμῳ κατέσχε, καὶ τὸν Μάγωνα ἐνίκησε, καὶ

either through divine inspiration or by some chance information, that he would encamp in the enemy's country[1]—a prediction now fulfilled—caused all to honour him as superior to themselves, while the Spaniards even named him Great King.

Zonaras 9, 8.

a prediction, announcing beforehand that he would encamp in the enemy's country,[1] caused all to honour him, while the Spaniards even named him Great King.

Hasdrubal, despairing of Spain, was anxious to depart for Italy. So after packing everything for the march, he set out in winter. His fellow-commanders held their ground and kept Scipio busy so that he could not pursue Hasdrubal nor lighten the burden of war for the Romans in Italy by going there, nor sail to Carthage. But, although Scipio did not pursue Hasdrubal, he sent runners through whom he apprised the people in Rome of his approach, while he himself gave attention to his own immediate concerns. And observing that his opponents were scattered over various parts of the country, he feared that whenever he began an engagement with any of them, he should be the cause of their gathering in one place to aid one another. Accordingly, while he himself conducted a campaign against Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, he sent Silanus into Celtiberia against Mago, and Lucius Scipio, his brother, into Bastitania. Lucius occupied the latter district after hard fighting, conquered Mago, followed

B.C. 208

[1] Some phrase defining the time appears to have been lost. Furthermore the enemy's "camp" (ἐν τῷ, as suggested by Reimar) in place of his "country" (ἐν τῇ) would seem to improve the sense; compare Zonaras' words on p. 201.

φεύγοντι αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπακολουθήσας ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, μήπω μηδὲν διαπεπραγμένον.

Ἐλθόντων οὖν τοῦ τε Μάγωνος πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν καὶ τοῦ Λουκίου πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Σκιπίωνα, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῷ ἱππικῷ καταθέοντες ἐς τὰ πεδία διεμάχοντο, εἶτα καὶ ὅλῳ τῷ στρατεύματι ἀντιπαρετάσσοντο, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐμάχοντο. καὶ ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας τοῦτο ἐγίνετο· συμβολῆς δέ ποτε γενομένης οἵ τε σύμμαχοι τῶν Καρχηδονίων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἡττήθησαν, καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἑάλω, καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπιτηδείοις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐχρήσαντο· ὃ πρὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁ Σκιπίων, ὡς λόγος ἐστίν, ἀπεφοίβασεν. ἐπιλιπόντων γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῶν πρὸς τροφήν, προεῖπεν (ὅθεν δ' ἠγνόηται) ὡς "κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων χρησόμεθα." μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοῖς περιλειφθεῖσι τῶν ἐναντίων τὸν Σιλανὸν καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἀπῄει πόλεις, καὶ πολλὰς προσηγάγετο. καταστήσας δὲ τὰ ἑαλωκότα αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκεῖ διεχείμασε, τὸν δὲ Λούκιον τὸν ὁμαίμονα ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλε καταγγελοῦντά τε τὰ γενόμενα καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους κομίσοντα καὶ ὅπως οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ φρονοῦσι περὶ αὐτοῦ πολυπραγμονήσοντα.

9. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἐκ νόσου ἐπόνησαν καὶ μάχαις ἐταλαιπώρησαν, Τυρσηνῶν νεωτερισάντων τινῶν. μεῖζον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοὺς ἐλύπησεν ὅτι τὸν Μάρκελλον ἀπέβαλον. ἐπιστρατεύσαντες γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀννίβου τυγχάνοντος ἐν Λοκροῖς καὶ ἄμφω οἱ ὕπατοι ἐξ

him up as he fled to Hasdrubal, and came to Scipio before the latter had accomplished anything as yet.

Now that Mago had joined Hasdrubal, and Lucius his brother Scipio, at first they would descend into the plain with their cavalry and engage in sharp contests, and later they would array their whole armies opposite each other, but would not do any fighting. This went on for several days. When the clash finally came, the Carthaginians and their allies were defeated and their stronghold was taken by the Romans, who made use of the provisions in it. This Scipio had prophesied, as the story goes, three days before. For when their food supplies failed them, he had predicted, by what prompting is unknown : "On such and such a day we shall make use of the enemy's store." After this he left Silanus to take care of the remaining foes, and went off himself to the other cities, many of which he won over. When he had brought order into the newly acquired territory, he took up his winter abode there ; and he sent his brother Lucius to Rome to report the progress made, to convey the captives thither, and to discover how the people of Rome felt toward him.

9. The people in Italy not only suffered from disease but also encountered hardships in battles, since some of the Etruscans had rebelled. But what grieved them more than all else was their loss of Marcellus. For both the consuls, having undertaken a campaign against Hannibal, who was at Locri, had been surrounded by an ambuscade,

Zonaras 9, 9.

ἐνέδρας περιστοιχισθέντες ὁ μὲν Μάρκελλος αὐτίκα ἀπώλετο, Κρισπῖνος δὲ τρωθεὶς ἀπέθανεν οὐ μετὰ πολύ. εὑρηκὼς δὲ τὸ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου σῶμα ὁ Ἀννίβας, καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ εἰληφὼς ᾧ ἐκεῖνος τὰς γραφὰς ἐπεσφράγιζε, γράμματα ἐς τὰς πόλεις ὡς παρ' ἐκείνου στελλόμενα ἔπεμπε, καὶ ὅσα ἐβούλετο διεπράττετο· μέχρις οὗ τοῦτο γνοὺς ὁ Κρισπῖνος ἀντιπαρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς φυλάσσεσθαι· ὅθεν ἀντιπεριέστη τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ τὸ πρᾶγμα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σαλπίᾳ δι' αὐτομόλου δῆθεν ἦν ἐπιστείλας, ὡς ὁ Μάρκελλος νυκτὸς προσῄει τοῖς τείχεσι, τῇ τε τῶν Λατίνων κεχρημένος φωνῇ σὺν ἄλλοις ἐπισταμένοις αὐτήν, ἵνα Ῥωμαῖοι δόξωσιν εἶναι. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Σαλπηνοὶ τὴν ἐπιτέχνησιν αὐτοῦ ἀντετεχνήσαντο πιστεύειν ὄντως προσιέναι τὸν Μάρκελλον, καὶ ἀνασπάσαντες τὸν καταρράκτην εἰσήγαγον ὅσους αὐτοῖς ἔδοξεν ἱκανοὺς εἶναι κατεργασθῆναι παρ' αὐτῶν, καὶ πάντας ἀπέκτειναν. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας ἀπῆρεν αὐτίκα, μαθὼν τοὺς Λοκροὺς πολιορκουμένους παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπιπλευσάντων.

Καὶ Πούπλιος[1] δὲ Σουλπίκιος μετὰ Αἰτωλῶν καὶ συμμάχων ἑτέρων πολλὰ τῆς Ἀχαΐας ἐπόρθησε. τοῦ δὲ Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνος τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς συμμαχήσαντος παντελῶς ἂν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐξηλάθησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, εἰ μὴ τοῦ κράνους τοῦ Φιλίππου περιρρυέντος οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ τοῦτο ἔσχον, καὶ φήμης εἰς τοὺς Μακεδόνας γενομένης ὡς τέθνηκε, στάσις τε γέγονεν ἐκεῖ

[1] Πούπλιος Pinder, in conformity with the regular spelling in Zon. and Dio, Πόπλιος Mss.

Zonaras 9, 9.

and Marcellus had perished instantly, while Crispinus had been wounded and died not long after. Hannibal found the body of Marcellus, and taking his ring with which Marcellus was accustomed to seal his documents, he forwarded letters to the cities purporting to come from Marcellus. He was accomplishing whatever he pleased, until Crispinus became aware of it and sent them a warning to be on their guard. As a result of this the tables were turned upon Hannibal. He had sent a message to the citizens of Salapia through a pretended deserter, and now approached the walls in the guise of Marcellus, using the Latin language in company with other men who understood it, in order to be taken for Romans. The Salapians, informed of his artifice, were artful enough in their turn to pretend that they believed Marcellus was really approaching. Then drawing up the portcullis they admitted as many as it seemed to them they could conveniently dispose of, and killed them all. Hannibal withdrew at once on learning that Locri was being besieged by the Romans, who had sailed against it from Sicily.

Publius Sulpicius, assisted by Aetolians and other allies, devastated a large part of Achaia. But when Philip the Macedonian formed an alliance with the Achaeans, the Romans would have been driven out of Greece completely but for the fact that the helmet of Philip fell off, and the Aetolians got possession of it; for in this way a report reached Macedonia that he was dead, and an uprising took place there. Philip,

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καὶ ἐφοβήθη μὴ τῆς βασιλείας στερηθῇ, καὶ πρὸς Μακεδονίαν ἠπείχθη. ἐντεῦθεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ Ἑλλάδι προσέμειναν καί τινων ἐκράτησαν πόλεων.

Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει ὡς Ἀσδρούβας ἠγγέλλετο προσιών, οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὰς δυνάμεις τε ἤθροιζον καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους σφῶν μετεπέμποντο, ὑπάτους Κλαύδιόν τε Νέρωνα καὶ Λιούιον τὸν Μάρκον ἑλόμενοι. καὶ Νέρωνα μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, Λιούιον δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἔπεμψαν. ὃς αὐτῷ πρὸς τῇ Σένᾳ τῇ πόλει ἀπήντησεν· οὐ μέντοι καὶ εἰς χεῖρας εὐθὺς ἦλθεν.[1] ἐπὶ πολλὰς δὲ ἡμέρας κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας τὴν μάχην κατήπειξεν, ἡσύχαζε δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀναμένων. ὁ Νέρων δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας εἰς Λευκανίαν ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, καὶ οὐδέτερος πρὸς παράταξιν ὥρμησεν, ἄλλως δὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἀλλήλοις ᾔεσαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας πυκνὰ μετανίστατο, καὶ ὁ Νέρων ἀκριβῶς αὐτὸν παρετήρει. κρείττων οὖν ἀεὶ αὐτοῦ γινόμενος, καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα αὐτῷ πεμφθέντα ἑλών, τοῦ μὲν Ἀννίβου κατεφρόνησε, δείσας δὲ μὴ τὸν Λιούιον ὁ Ἀσδρούβας τῷ πλήθει καταβιάσηται, μέγα πρᾶγμα ἐτόλμησε. καὶ κατέλιπε μὲν μοῖραν ἐκεῖ ἀποχρῶσαν εἴργειν τὸν Ἀννίβαν, εἴ πῃ κινηθείη, ἐντειλάμενος πάντα ποιεῖν ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς νομίζοιτο ἐνδημεῖν, τὸ δὲ καθαρώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολέξας ὥρμησεν ὡς πόλει τινὶ πλησιοχώρῳ προσμίξων, οὐδ' ᾔδει τις τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἠπείχθη ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν, καὶ ἀφίκετο νυκτὸς πρὸς τὸν συνάρχοντα, καὶ ἐν τῇ ταφρείᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ κατεσκήνησε. καὶ παρεσκευά-

[1] ἦλθεν Kuiper, ἦλθον Mss.

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consequently, fearing he should lose his kingdom, hastened into Macedonia. Hence the Romans remained in Greece and conquered a few cities.

The following year, upon the announcement of Hasdrubal's approach, the people of Rome gathered their forces and summoned their allies, after choosing Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius consuls. They sent Nero against Hannibal and Livius against Hasdrubal. Livius met his foe near the city of Sena, but did not immediately open an engagement with him. For many days he remained stationary; and Hasdrubal was in no hurry for battle, either, but remained at rest awaiting his brother. Nero and Hannibal were encamping in Lucania, but neither hastened to array his forces for battle, although in other ways they had some conflicts. Hannibal would frequently change his position, and Nero kept careful watch of him. As he constantly had the advantage of him and presently captured the letter sent to him by Hasdrubal, he conceived a scorn for Hannibal; and fearing that Hasdrubal might overwhelm Livius through force of numbers, he ventured upon a hazardous exploit. He left on the spot a portion of his force sufficient to check Hannibal, in case the latter should make any movement, and he gave the men injunctions to do everything to create the impression that he was also there. Then, selecting the flower of the army, he set out as if to attack some neighbouring city; and none knew his real intention. So he hastened on against Hasdrubal, reached his colleague at night, and took up his quarters in the latter's entrenchments. And they both prepared for a sudden joint attack B.C. 207

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ζοντο ἄμφω ἵν' αἰφνίδιον αὐτῷ συνεπίθωνται. οὐκ ἔλαθον δέ, ἀλλ' ἐτεκμήρατο τὸ γεγενημένον ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀπὸ τῶν παραγγέλσεων διττῶν γινομένων· ἰδίᾳ γὰρ ἕκαστος τῶν ὑπάτων παρήγγελλέ τι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ. ὑποπτεύσας οὖν ἡττῆσθαι τὸν Ἀννίβαν καὶ ἀπολέσθαι (περιόντος γὰρ ἐκείνου οὐκ ἂν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁρμῆσαι τὸν Νέρωνα ἐλογίζετο) ἔγνω πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας ἀπαναχωρῆσαι καὶ ἐκεῖ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀκριβώσασθαι καὶ οὕτω κατὰ σχολὴν πολεμῆσαι.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν παραγγείλας τῷ στρατεύματι ἀναστῆναι νυκτὸς ἀπῆρεν, οἱ δ' ὕπατοι ἐκ τοῦ θορύβου ὑπώπτευσαν τὸ γινόμενον, οὐ μέντοι εὐθὺς ἐκινήθησαν διὰ τὸ σκότος. ἅμα δ' ἠοῖ τούς τε ἱππέας προέπεμψαν ἐπιδιῶξαι αὐτούς, καὶ αὐτοὶ εἵποντο. καὶ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἀντιταξαμένου ὡς μόνοις οὖσιν, οἱ ὕπατοι ἐπελθόντες τροπὴν αὐτοῦ ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ φεύγουσιν ἐπακολουθήσαντες πολλοὺς ἐφόνευσαν. καὶ οὐδ' οἱ ἐλέφαντες αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθησαν· ὅτι γάρ τινες αὐτῶν τραυματισθέντες κακὰ πλείω τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους σφίσιν ἔδρων ἢ οἱ πολέμιοι, παρήγγειλεν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῶν καθημένοις τοὺς τιτρωσκομένους τῶν θηρίων παραυτίκα σφάζειν· ῥᾷστα δὲ σιδηρίῳ τινὶ ὑπὸ τὸ οὖς νυττόμενοι ἐκτιννύοντο. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων, οἱ ἄνδρες δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφθείροντο. ἔπεσον δὲ τοσοῦτοι ὥστε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διακορεῖς τοῦ φόνου γενομένους μὴ θελῆσαι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιδιῶξαι. φθείραντές τε ἄλλους πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν, καὶ λάφυρα πλεῖστα

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upon the invader. The situation, however, did not go undiscovered, since Hasdrubal inferred what had happened from the fact that the word of command was given twice; for each consul issued orders to his own troops separately. Suspecting, therefore, that Hannibal had been defeated and had perished, —for he calculated that if his brother were alive, Nero would never have marched against *him*,—he determined to retire among the Gauls and after finding out definitely about his brother, carry on the war at his convenience.

So, after giving orders to the army to break camp, he started out that night; and the consuls suspected from the noise what was going on, yet they did not move immediately because of the darkness. At dawn, however, they sent the cavalry ahead to pursue the enemy and they themselves followed. Hasdrubal made a stand against the cavalry, thinking them an isolated force, but the consuls came up and routed him, and followed after the fugitives, of whom they slew a great many. Even the elephants were of no help to the Carthaginians, since some of them upon being wounded did more harm to those stationed beside them than did the enemy; and so Hasdrubal gave orders to those seated upon them to slay the beasts as soon as they were wounded. Now they killed them very easily by piercing them with an iron instrument under the ear. The elephants, then, were destroyed by the Carthaginians, and the men by the Romans. So many fell that the Romans became surfeited with slaughter and had no desire to pursue the rest. They had destroyed Hasdrubal along with many others, had secured huge

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λαβόντες, καὶ Ῥωμαίους αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τετρακισχιλίους ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ εὑρόντες, ἱκανῶς τὴν Καννηίδα συμφορὰν ἀνειληφέναι ἐνόμισαν.

Πραχθέντων δὲ τούτων ὁ μὲν Λιούιος κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν, ὁ δὲ Νέρων ἑκταῖος εἰς τὴν Ἀπουλίαν ἐπανελήλυθε, λαθὼν μέχρι τότε ὡς ἀπεδήμησε. καὶ τῶν ἁλόντων τινὰς ἐς τὸ Ἀννίβου στρατόπεδον ἔπεμψε τὰ πεπραγμένα δηλώσοντας, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου πλησίον που ἀνεσταύρωσε. μαθὼν οὖν ἐκεῖνος τόν τε ἀδελφὸν ἡττημένον καὶ τεθνηκότα καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα νενικηκότα καὶ ἐπανήκοντα, πολλὰ μὲν ὠλοφύρατο, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὰς Κάννας ἀνεκάλεσε. καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττίαν[1] ἀνεχώρησε, κἀκεῖ διῆγεν ἡσυχάζων.

10. Ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων μέχρις ἂν πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ καταστήσῃ ἄρχειν τῶν ἐκεῖ προσετάχθη. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὴν Λιβύην δύο πεντήρεσιν ἔπλευσε, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Γίσγωνος Ἀσδρούβας ἐκεῖ κατὰ τύχην αὐτῷ συγκατῆρε. δεξιουμένου οὖν καὶ ἄμφω τοῦ Σύφακος (ἔνσπονδος γὰρ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐγένετο, μέρους τῆς Λιβύης βασιλεύων), καὶ καταλλάσσοντος σφᾶς, ὁ Σκιπίων οὐκ ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἔχειν εἶπεν οὔτε μὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν δύνασθαι καθ' ἑαυτὸν καταλύσασθαι.

Ἐπανῆλθεν οὖν αὖθις· καὶ Ἰλιτεργίταις ἐπολέμησεν, ὅτι τοὺς πρὸς αὐτοὺς καταφυγόντας Ῥωμαίους μετὰ τὸν τῶν Σκιπιώνων θάνατον τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐξέδωκαν. καὶ οὐ πρότερον τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ἐκράτησε πρὶν αὐτὸς τοῦ τείχους ἐπιβῆναι ἐτόλμησε καὶ ἐτρώθη. αἰδεσθέντες γὰρ

[1] Βρεττίαν Wolf., βρεττανίαν Mss.

Zonaras 9, 9–10.

quantities of spoils, had found Roman captives to the number of four thousand in the camp, and thought they had sufficiently retrieved the disaster of Cannae.

When this result had been achieved, Livius remained where he was, but Nero returned to Apulia, arriving on the sixth day, before his absence had as yet been detected. He now sent some of the prisoners into Hannibal's camp to explain what had happened, and fixed Hasdrubal's head on a pole near by. Hannibal, learning that his brother was vanquished and dead, and that Nero had conquered and returned, lamented bitterly, often crying out against Fortune and Cannae. And he retired into Bruttium where he remained inactive.

10. Scipio was appointed to look after Roman interests in Spain until he should have restored order in all parts. He first sailed to Africa with two quinqueremes, and it so happened that Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, landed there at the same time as he did. Syphax, who was king of a portion of Africa and was in alliance with the Carthaginians, entertained them both and endeavoured to reconcile them. But Scipio declared that his was no private enmity and that he could not, of course, on his own responsibility make terms for his country.

Accordingly he went back again and began a war against the Iliturgitani because they had handed over to the Carthaginians the Romans who took refuge with them after the death of the Scipios. He did not become master of their city until he ventured to scale the wall in person and got wounded. Then the

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οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ δείσαντες περὶ ἐκείνῳ τότε προσέβαλον προθυμότερον. καὶ κρατήσαντες τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους πάντας ἀπέκτειναν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν κατέπρησαν ἅπασαν. καὶ τῷ φόβῳ τούτῳ πολλοὶ μὲν ἑκόντες αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ βίᾳ κεχείρωντο· τινὲς δὲ πολιορκούμενοι τάς τε πόλεις ἑαυτῶν ἔκαιον καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἐφόνευον, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἑαυτούς.

Τὰ πλείω δὲ καταστρεψάμενος ὁ Σκιπίων εἰς Καρχηδόνα ἀνέζευξεν· ἔνθα τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ τῷ θείῳ ἐπιταφίους ἀγῶνας ὁπλομαχίας ἔθετο. ὅτε πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἕτεροι ἠγωνίσαντο, καὶ ἀδελφοὶ δὲ δύο περὶ βασιλείας διαφερόμενοι, καίτοι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος συναλλάξαι αὐτοὺς σπουδάσαντος· καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος τὸν νεώτερον καίτοι ἰσχυρότερον ὄντα ἀπέκτεινεν.

Ἠρρώστησε δὲ μετέπειτα ὁ Σκιπίων, κἀν τούτῳ ἐνεωτέρισαν οἱ Ἴβηρες. στράτευμα γὰρ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος περὶ Σογκρῶνα[1] χειμάζον ἐκινήθη, καὶ πρῴην οὐκ εὐπειθὲς ὄν, οὐ μὴν φανερὰν ἀποστασίαν ἐπιδειξάμενον· τότε δ' αἰσθόμενον τὸν Σκιπίωνα κάμνοντα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ μισθοφορὰ αὐτοῖς ἐβραδύνθη, ἀναφανδὸν ἀπέστησαν, καὶ τοὺς χιλιάρχους σφῶν ἀπελάσαντες ὑπάτους ἑαυτοῖς κεχειροτονήκασιν· ἦσαν δὲ ὡς ὀκτακισχίλιοι. γνόντες οὖν ταῦτα οἱ Ἴβηρες ἀφίσταντο προχειρότερον, καὶ τὴν συμμαχίδα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκάκουν. καὶ ὁ Μάγων ἐκλιπεῖν ἤδη τὰ Γάδειρα βουληθεὶς οὔτ' ἐξέλιπε καὶ εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον διαβαίνων πολλὰ ἐκακούργει.

[1] An error for Σουκρῶνα.

soldiers, put to shame and fearing for his life, made a more determined assault. And having captured the place, they killed all the inhabitants and burned down the whole city. As a result of the fear thus inspired many voluntarily ranged themselves on his side, and many others were subdued by force. Some, when besieged, burned their cities and slew their relatives and finally themselves.

After subjugating the greater part of the country Scipio moved his quarters to [New] Carthage and there instituted funeral contests in full armour in honour of his father and of his uncle. When many others had contended, there came also two brothers who were at variance about a kingdom, though Scipio had made efforts to reconcile them. And the younger man, even though more powerful, was slain by the older.

Subsequently Scipio fell sick, and thereupon the Spaniards rebelled. For one of Scipio's armies that was wintering near Sucro had become turbulent; even before this it had shown insubordination, but had not ventured upon open rebellion. Now, however, learning of Scipio's illness, and in view of the fact, moreover, that their pay had been delayed, they mutinied outright, drove away the tribunes, and elected consuls for themselves. Their number was about eight thousand. So the Spaniards, becoming aware of this, revolted with greater readiness, and proceeded to harry the territory belonging to the Roman alliance. And thus Mago, who had already made up his mind to abandon Gades, did not do so, but crossed over to the mainland and caused no little havoc.

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Μαθὼν δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Σκιπίων, πέμψας πρὸς τὸ ἀποστατῆσαν στρατόπεδον, ἐπέστειλεν αὐτοῖς συγγνωμονῶν δῆθεν, ὅτι διὰ ἔνδειαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνεωτέρισαν, καὶ μηδὲν ὑποπτεῦσαι διὰ τοῦτο ἀξιῶν, ἐπαινῶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν ἀναδεξαμένους ἵνα μηδὲν δεινὸν ἢ πάθωσιν ἢ δράσωσι διὰ ἀναρχίαν. τοιαῦτα τοῦ Σκιπίωνος γράψαντος, οἱ στρατιῶται μαθόντες ὅτι περιείη καὶ οὐδ' ὀργίζοιτο σφίσιν, οὐδὲν ἔτι διεκίνησαν. ὡς δ' ἀνερρώσθη, τραχὺ μὲν οὐδὲ τότε αὐτοῖς ἐπηπείλησε, πέμψας δὲ τήν τε τροφὴν ἀποδώσειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ πάντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι ἐκέλευσεν[1] ὡς ἂν βούλωνται, ἢ ἀθρόοι ἢ ἐν μέρει κατὰ διαδοχάς. οἱ δέ γε στρατιῶται κατ' ὀλίγους ἀπελθεῖν οὐκ ἐθάρσησαν, ὁμοῦ δ' ἀπῆλθον. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἔξω τοῦ τείχους αὐτοὺς αὐλίσασθαι (πρὸς ἑσπέραν γὰρ ἦν) διετάξατο, καὶ παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς ἀφθόνως τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς θρασυτέρους αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν κατασκεύασε, καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς κατασχὼν ἔδησεν. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ, ὡς ἔξω ποι στρατεύσων, πάντα τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατὸν προεξέπεμψεν. εἶτα τοὺς ἄρτι ἐλθόντας εἴσω τοῦ τείχους ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων ἐκάλεσεν, ἵν' αὐτῷ συστρατεύσωνται, λαβόντες τὸ σιτηρέσιον. καὶ οὕτως εἰσελθόντων αὐτῶν ἐσήμηνε τοῖς ἐκκεχωρηκόσιν ὥσπερ εἶχον ἐπανελθεῖν. καὶ περισχὼν αὐτοὺς πολλὰ καὶ ὠνείδισε καὶ ἠπείλησε, καὶ

[1] ἐκέλευσεν Bs., ἐκάλεσεν Mss.

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Scipio, learning of this, sent a letter to the mutinous legion, in which he affected to pardon them for revolting on account of the scarcity of provisions, asked them to feel no anxiety because of this, and actually praised those who had accepted the leadership over them to prevent their suffering or doing any violence in the absence of lawful commanders. When Scipio had written to this effect, and the soldiers had learned that he was alive and was not even angry with them, they made no further trouble. Even after he recovered his health he did not use harsh threats in dealing with them, but sent a promise to supply them with food and commanded them all to come to him, either in a body or a part at a time, as they might prefer. The soldiers, not daring to go in small groups, went all together. Now Scipio arranged that they should encamp outside the wall—for it was nearly evening—and supplied them with provisions in abundance. Thus they encamped; but Scipio saw to it that the bolder spirits among them entered the city, and during the night he overpowered and imprisoned them. At daybreak he sent forth his whole army as if he were going to make an expedition somewhere. Then he summoned the recent arrivals inside the wall without their weapons, in order that they might receive their rations and join his expedition. As soon, accordingly, as they had entered, he signalled to the men who had gone forth to return just as they were. Thus he surrounded the rebels and heaped upon them many reproaches and threats, declaring finally: "You all

57,47 (Δίων) ἐν τῷ ιϛʹ "πάντες ἀποθανεῖν ἐστε ἄξιοι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐγὼ πάντας ὑμᾶς θανατώσω, ἀλλ' ὀλίγους μέν, οὓς καὶ συνείληφα ἤδη, δικαιώσω, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀφίημι." Suidas *s.v.* ἐδικαιώθησαν, Etym. Magn. p. 316, 9, Lex. Seguer. (Bachm. Anecd. Gr. 1, 206), Cram. Anecd. Par. 4, 168.

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τέλος "πάντες μέν," ἔφη, "θανεῖν ἐστε ἄξιοι, οὐ μέντοι πάντας θανατώσω αὐτός, ἀλλ' ὀλίγους οὓς καὶ ἤδη συνείληφα δικαιώσω, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀφίημι." ταῦτα εἰπὼν εἰς τὸ μέσον τοὺς δεδεμένους παρήγαγε, καὶ σταυροῖς προσδήσας καὶ αἰκισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν. ὡς δέ τινες τῶν παρεστηκότων ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐθορύβησαν, συχνοὺς καὶ ἐκείνων ἐκόλασε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν μισθοφορὰν τοῖς ἄλλοις δοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδίβιλιν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Μανδόνιον ἐστράτευσε. καὶ μὴ τολμώντων ἐκείνων συμμῖξαι αὐτῷ, αὐτὸς ἐπέθετο καὶ ἐνίκησεν.

Ὁμολογησάντων δ' ἐκείνων, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰβηρίας τὰ πλείω αὖθις ἐδουλώθη, καὶ ὁ Μάγων τὰ Γάδειρα ἐξέλιπε, καὶ ὁ Μασινίσσας τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσεχώρησεν. οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι γάρ, τελευτήσαντος Ἀσδρούβα τοῦ Ἀννίβου ὁμαίμονος, ἐψηφίσαντο τῆς μὲν Ἰβηρίας ἐκστῆναι, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἀνακτήσασθαι· καὶ ἔπεμψαν ἀργύριον τῷ Μάγωνι, ἵν' ἐπικουρικὸν ἀθροίσας στρατεύσηται ἐπ' αὐτήν. καὶ ὃς πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὖθις ὁρμήσας ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὰς Γυμνησίας νήσους. καὶ τῆς μὲν μείζονος ἥμαρτε, μὴ δυνηθεὶς εἰς αὐτὴν καταραι (οἱ γὰρ ἐπιχώριοι πόρρωθεν ἐς τὰς ναῦς

Dio, XVI. "You all deserve to die, yet I, for my part, will not put you all to death, but will punish only a few whom I have already arrested; the others I release."

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deserve to die, yet I, for my part, will not put you all to death, but will execute only a few whom I have already arrested; the others I release." With these words he brought forward the prisoners, bound them to stakes, and put them to death by scourging. Some of the soldiers standing by grew indignant and raised a disturbance, whereupon he punished a number of them also. After this he gave the rest their pay, and conducted a campaign against Indibilis and Mandonius. As these were too timid to offer him battle, he attacked them and was victorious.

Following their capitulation most of the remainder of Spain was again enslaved, Mago abandoned Gades, and Masinissa took the Roman side. For the Carthaginians, upon the death of Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, had voted to give up Spain, but to recover their conquests in Italy. And they sent money to Mago, in order that he might gather a force of auxiliaries and make an expedition against that country. So he set out once more for Italy, and came to the Gymnesian islands. The larger one escaped his grasp; for the natives from a distance kept using their slings, in which art they were masters, against

Zonaras 9, 10.

ἐσφενδόνων, κράτιστοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὄντες), εἰς δὲ τὴν μικροτέραν προσορμισάμενος ἐκεῖ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα κατέμεινεν. αἱ νῆσοι δ' αὗται τῇ περὶ τὸν Ἴβηρα ἠπείρῳ ἐπίκεινται· εἰσὶ δὲ τρεῖς, ἃς Ἕλληνες μὲν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κοινῇ Γυμνησίας καλοῦσιν, Οὐαλλερίας δὲ καὶ Ὑασούσας οἱ Ἴβηρες, ἰδίᾳ δ' ἑκάστην, τὴν μὲν Ἔβεσον, τὴν δὲ μείζω, μικροτέραν δὲ τὴν τρίτην φερωνυμώτατα. τὰ Γάδειρα δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσχον.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 633.

Δίων δὲ ὁ Κοκκηιανὸς ταύτας πλησίον φησὶ Ἴβηρος εἶναι ποταμοῦ, πλησίον τῶν Εὐρωπαίων Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν, ἃς νήσους Ἕλληνες μὲν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κοινῶς Γυμνησίας φασίν, Ἴβηρες δὲ Βαλερίας ἤτοι ὑγιεινάς.

Zonaras 9, 10.

his ships, so that he could not effect a landing; but he anchored off the smaller one and waited there on account of the winter. These islands are situated close to the mainland in the vicinity of the Iberus. They are three in number, and are called by the Romans in common with the Greeks the Gymnesiae, but by the Spaniards the Valeriae or Hyasusae,[1] or, individually, the first Ebusus, the second the Larger,[2] and the third the Smaller[2]—very appropriate names. And Gades was occupied by the Romans.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 633.

Dio Cocceianus, however, says they are near the Iberus river and near the European Pillars of Hercules; these islands the Greeks and Romans alike call the Gymnesiae, but the Spaniards Valeriae or Healthful Islands.

[1] A corruption of Baleares and Pityusae.
[2] Or, in other words, Balearis Major and Balearis Minor.

57, 50 Ὅτι ὁ Μασινίσσας ἄλλως μὲν ἐν τοῖς κράτιστος ἀνὴρ ἦν, τά τε πολέμια καὶ τοῖς βουλεύμασι καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἄριστα ἐξειργάζετο, καὶ ἐς πίστιν οὐχ ὅτι τῶν ὁμοφύλων (ἄπιστοι γὰρ[1] οὗτοί[2] γε ὡς πλήθει εἰσί) ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πάνυ μέγα ἐπ᾿ αὐτῇ φρονούντων προέφερεν.—V. 44 (p. 605).

51 Ὅτι τῆς Σοφωνίδος ἰσχυρῶς ἤρα Μασινίσσας, ᾗ τό τε[3] κάλλος ἐπιφανὲς εἶχε (καὶ γὰρ τῇ

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11. Ὁ δὲ Μασινίσσας ἀνὴρ ἦν ἐν τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐξεταζόμενος· καὶ χειρὶ γὰρ καὶ βουλεύμασιν ἄριστος ἐτύγχανε τὰ πολέμια. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐξ αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε μετήνεκτο. ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ τοῦ Γίσγωνος φίλος τε ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ Σοφωνίδα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα αὐτῷ ἐνηγγύησε. τῷ Σύφακι δὲ συγγενόμενος, καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν φρονοῦντα αἰσθόμενος, οὐκέτι τὰ ὡμολογημένα πρὸς τὸν Μασινίσσαν ἐφύλαξεν, ἀλλὰ θέλων τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τὸν Σύφακα προσποιήσασθαι, οὐκ ἐλαχίστης δυνάμεως ἄρχοντα, τήν τε ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ συγκατέπραξεν, ᾗ τῷ Μασινίσσᾳ προσῆκε, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τότε θανόντος, καὶ τὴν Σοφωνίδα συνῴκισεν. ἡ δὲ τό τε κάλλος ἐπιφανὴς ἦν καὶ

[1] γὰρ Rk., τε γὰρ Ms. [2] οὗτοί Val., οὕτω Ms.
[3] τε added by Bk.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XVII

Masinissa, in addition to being among the most distinguished men in other respects, was a master in conducting warlike operations, both as regarded planning and execution; and in point of loyalty he excelled not only the men of his own race—who are most faithless as a rule—but even those who greatly prided themselves upon this virtue.

Masinissa became deeply enamoured of Sophonisba,[1] who not only possessed conspicuous beauty—

Zonaras 9, 11.

11. Masinissa ranked among the most distinguished men; for he was a master of warfare both as regarded execution and planning. He had left the Carthaginians for the Romans as a result of circumstances now to be related. Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, was a friend of his and had betrothed to him his daughter Sophonisba.[1] Hasdrubal, however, became acquainted with Syphax, and perceiving that he favoured the Roman cause, no longer kept his agreement with Masinissa. He was so anxious to add to the Carthaginian alliance Syphax, who was ruler of a very considerable realm, that he not only helped him to get possession of the domain which belonged to Masinissa, upon the death of the latter's father at this time, but furthermore gave him Sophonisba in marriage. She was conspicuous for beauty, had re-

[1] The Mss. of both the fragments and of Zonaras give the name as Sophonis.

συμμετρίᾳ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῷ ἄνθει τῆς ὥρας ἤκμαζεν) καὶ παιδείᾳ πολλῇ καὶ γραμμάτων καὶ μουσικῆς ἤσκητο· ἀστεία τε καὶ αἱμύλος ἦν, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν οὕτως ἐπαφρόδιτος ὥστε καὶ ὀφθεῖσα ἢ καὶ ἀκουσθεῖσα μόνον πάντα τινά, καὶ τὸν πάνυ δυσέρωτα, κατεργάσασθαι.—V. 45 (p. 605).

53 . . . *μέντοι καὶ ἠθέλησε τοῦτον τίσασθαι· προϋποπτευθεὶς γὰρ ἔφυγε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Λιβύην ἐλθὼν πολλὰ μὲν καθ' ἑαυτόν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸν Σύφακα καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐλύπησεν. Σκιπίων*[1] *δὲ ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ Πυρηναίου τὰ μὲν βίᾳ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὁμολογίᾳ προσεποιήσατο, τὸν στόλον τὸν ἐς τὴν Λιβύην ἡτοιμάζετο, οὗπερ*[2] *ἀεὶ ἐφίετο·*[3]

Zonaras 9, 11.

παιδείᾳ πολλῇ καὶ γραμμάτων καὶ μουσικῆς ἤσκητο, ἀστεία τε καὶ αἱμύλος ἦν, καὶ οὕτως ἐπαφρόδιτος ὡς ὀφθεῖσα ἢ καὶ ἀκουσθεῖσα μόνον καὶ τὸν πάνυ δυσέρωτα κατεργάσασθαι.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Σύφαξ διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις προσέθετο, καὶ ὁ Μασινίσσας τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνθείλετο καὶ χρησιμώτατος αὐτοῖς διὰ πάντων ἐγένετο· Σκιπίων δὲ πάντα τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ Πυρηναίου τὰ μὲν βίᾳ, τὰ δὲ ὁμολογίᾳ προσποιησάμενος, ἐς τὴν Λιβύην στείλασθαι ἡτοιμάζετο. οἱ

[1] Σκιπίων Bk., ὁ σκηπίων Ms. [2] οὗπερ Polak, ὥσπερ Ms.
[3] ἀεὶ ἐφίετο Bs., εἴ ἠφίετο Ms.

that symmetry of body and bloom of youth—but had also received an excellent literary and musical education. She was clever, ingratiating, and altogether so charming that the mere sight of her or even the sound of her voice sufficed to vanquish every one, even the most indifferent.

However, [Masinissa] also wished to take revenge on him [Hasdrubal]. For, having already incurred suspicion, he had taken to flight, and on arriving in Africa had inflicted many injuries by himself and many with Roman aid upon Syphax and the Carthaginians. Scipio, after winning over the whole territory south of the Pyrenees, partly by force and partly by capitulation, was preparing for the expedition to Africa, which had ever been his goal ;

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ceived an excellent literary and musical education, and was clever, ingratiating, and so charming that the mere sight of her or even the sound of her voice sufficed to vanquish anyone, even the most indifferent.

Syphax for these reasons attached himself to the Carthaginians, and Masinissa, on the contrary, espoused the Roman cause and from first to last proved very useful to them. Scipio after winning over the whole territory south of the Pyrenees, partly by force and partly by capitulation, was making ready to set out for Africa. The people of Rome,

καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο καίτοι πολλῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ἐπε-
τράπη τότε, καὶ τῷ Σύφακι συγγενέσθαι ἐκε-
54 λεύσθη. κἂν ἐξείργαστό τι τοῦ φρονήματος τοῦ
ἑαυτοῦ ἄξιον (ἢ γὰρ Καρχηδόνα εἷλεν ἂν τὸν
πόλεμον αὐτῇ περιστήσας, ἢ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκ τῆς
Ἰταλίας ἐξήγαγεν, ὅπερ ὕστερον ἔπραξεν), εἰ μὴ
οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ μὲν φθόνῳ αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ
καὶ φόβῳ ἐμποδὼν ἐγένοντο· τό τε γὰρ νέον
πᾶν μειζόνων ἀεὶ ἐπορέγεσθαι καὶ τὸ κατορθοῦν
πολλάκις ἄπληστον τῆς εὐπραγίας εἶναι νομί-
ζοντες χαλεπώτατα ἂν ἡγοῦντο νεανίσκου ψυχὴν
αὐχήματι προ . . . (four lines wanting in Ms.)
55 χ . . ρ οὐκ ἐκείνῳ πρός τε δυναστείαν καὶ δόξαν
ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς πρός τε ἐλευθερίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν
συμφέρῃ χρῆσθαι, κατέλυον αὐτόν, καὶ ὃν αὐτοὶ
προῆγον ἐς τὰ πράγματα ἐν χρείᾳ αὐτοῦ γενό-
μενοι, τοῦτον ἐθελονταὶ καθῄρουν, ὅτι μείζων τῆς
κοινῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐγεγόνει· καὶ τοῦτο οὐκέτι
ὅπως Καρχηδονίους παντελῶς δι' αὐτοῦ κατα-
πολεμήσωσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ ἑαυτοῖς τύραννον
56 αὐθαίρετον ἐπασκήσωσιν ἐσκόπουν. τῶν οὖν
στρατηγῶν δύο αὐτῷ διαδόχους πέμψαντες ἀνε-
κάλεσαν αὐτόν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπινίκια οὐκ ἐψηφί-

Zonaras 9, 11.

δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὰ μὲν φθόνῳ τῶν κατορθωμάτων αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ φόβῳ μὴ ὑπερφρονήσας τυραννήσῃ, ἀνεκαλέσαντο αὐτόν, δύο τῶν στρατηγῶν διαδόχους αὐτῷ πέμψαντες.

for this campaign had now been entrusted to him, in spite of much opposition, with instructions to join Syphax. And he would certainly have accomplished something worthy of his aspirations—either bringing the war home to the gates of Carthage and capturing the place or drawing Hannibal away from Italy, as he later did—had not the Romans at home, through jealousy and through fear of him, stood in his way. They reflected that youth without exception is ever reaching out after greater conquests and that good fortune is often insatiate of success, and thought that it would be very difficult for a youthful spirit through self-confidence . . . . . to treat [him in such wise] as would conduce, not to his power and fame, but to their own liberty and safety, they dismissed him; thus, the man whom they themselves had put in charge of affairs when they stood in need of him they now of their own accord removed because he had become too great for the public safety. They were no longer considering how they might utterly vanquish the Carthaginians with his aid, but only how they might escape training up for themselves a self-chosen tyrant. So they sent two of the praetors to relieve him and called him home. Moreover they did not

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Zonaras 9, 11.

however, through jealousy of his successes and through fear that he might become arrogant and play the tyrant, sent two of the praetors to relieve him and called him home.

σαυτό οἱ, ὅτι ἰδιώτης τε ὢν ἐστράτευτο καὶ ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἐννόμου ἡγεμονίας ἐξήταστο, βοῦς μέντοι ἑκατὸν λευκοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ θῦσαι καὶ πανήγυρίν τινα ἐπιτελέσαι τήν τε ὑπατείαν ἐς τὸ τρίτον ἔτος αἰτῆσαι ἐπέτρεψαν· αἱ γὰρ ἐς νέωτα ἀρχαιρεσίαι νεωστὶ ἐγεγόνεσαν.

57 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις χρόνοις καὶ ὁ Σουλπίκιος μετὰ τοῦ Ἀττάλου Ὠρεὸν μὲν προδοσίᾳ, Ὀποῦντα δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἔλαβεν· ὁ γὰρ Φίλιππος οὐκ ἠδυνήθη σφίσι διὰ ταχέων[1] καίπερ ἐν Δημητριάδι ὢν ἐπαμῦναι, ἐπειδὴ οἱ
58 Αἰτωλοὶ τὰς διόδους προκατέσχον. ὀψὲ δ' οὖν ποτε ἐπελθὼν καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν Ἄτταλον τὴν λείαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Ὀποῦντος διατιθέμενον (ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ αὕτη, τοῖς δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἡ ἐκ τοῦ Ὠρεοῦ ἐγένετο) ἐς τὰς ναῦς αὐτὸν κατήραξεν, ὥστε τὸν Ἄτταλον διά τε τοῦτο καὶ διὰ Προυσίαν τὸν Βιθυνῶν[2] βασιλέα, ἐσβαλόντα τε ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ καὶ πορθοῦντα αὐτήν, ἀποπλεῦσαι κατα τάχος οἴκαδε. ὁ μέντοι Φίλιππος οὐχ ὅσον

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Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπαύθη, ὁ δέ γε Σουλπίκιος μετὰ τοῦ Ἀττάλου κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Ὠρεὸν μὲν προδοσίᾳ, Ὀποῦντα δὲ ἰσχύι κατέσχεν. ὁ γὰρ Φίλιππος οὐκ ἠδυνήθη αὐτοῖς ἐπαμῦναι διὰ ταχέων, τὰς διόδους προκατασχόντων τῶν Αἰτωλῶν. ὀψὲ δέ ποτε ἐπελθών, εἰς τὰς ναῦς αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἄτταλον καταφυγεῖν ἐβιάσατο. ὁ μέντοι Φίλιππος σπείσασθαι τοῖς

[1] ταχέων Haase, comparing Zon.; τάχος Ms. acc. to Bs.
[2] Βιθυνῶν Bk., βιθυνὸν Ms.

vote him a triumph, because he had conducted the campaign as a private individual, not having been appointed to any legal command; but they allowed him to sacrifice a hundred white oxen upon the Capitol, to celebrate a festival, and to canvass for the consulship for the second year following (since the elections for the next year had recently been held).

At this same period also Sulpicius together with Attalus gained Oreus through betrayal and Opus by main force. For Philip, although in Demetrias, was unable to come speedily to the rescue since the Aetolians had already seized the passes. At last, however, he arrived, and finding Attalus disposing of the spoil from Opus,—for this had fallen to his lot, and that from Oreus to the Romans,—he hurled him back to his ships. Accordingly Attalus, both for this reason and also because Prusias, king of Bithynia, had invaded his country and was devastating it, hastily sailed back home. Philip, however, far from being elated at this success, actually wished

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Thus he was deposed from his command. At this same time Sulpicius together with Attalus secured Oreus through betrayal and Opus by main force. For Philip was unable to come speedily to the rescue, as the Aetolians had already seized the passes. But at last he arrived and forced Attalus to flee to his ships. Philip, however, wished to conclude a truce

οὐκ ἐπήρθη τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπείσασθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἠθέλησε, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος πρέσβεις ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πέμπων συνήλ-
59 λαττεν αὐτούς. καί τινων λόγων σφίσι γενομένων . . . (four lines wanting in Ms.) . . . εἰρήνην οὐκέτι ᾔτησεν ἀλλὰ . . . τοὺς[1] δὲ Αἰτωλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ρ . . . τινι ἀποσπάσας φίλους ἐποιήσατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπράχθη τι μνήμης ἄξιον οὔθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνων οὔτε ὑπ' ἄλλων τινῶν, οὔτε τότε οὔτε ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει ἐν ᾧ Λούκιός τε Οὐετούριος καὶ Καικίλιος Μέτελλος ὑπάτευσαν, καίπερ σημείων πολλῶν
60 καὶ δυσχερῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γενομένων· ἀρνίον τε γὰρ ἀρρενόθηλυ ἐγεννήθη, καὶ σμῆνος ὑ . . . ον ὤφθη, κατά τε τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὄφεις δύο κατώλισθον, καὶ ἱδρῶτι πολλῷ αἵ τε θύραι τοῦ Ποσειδωνίου καὶ ὁ βωμὸς ἐρρύη, ἔν τε Ἀντίῳ στάχυες αἱματώδεις θερίζουσί τισιν ὤφθησαν, καὶ ἑτέρωθι γυνὴ κέρατα ἔχουσα

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Ῥωμαίοις ἠθέλησε. καί τινων λόγων αὐτοῖς γενομένων τὰ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης ἀφείθη, τοὺς δ' Αἰτωλοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ συμμαχεῖν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις μεταθέμενος φίλους ἑαυτοῦ ἐποιήσατο.

Ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας τέως ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν, ἀγαπῶν εἰ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά οἱ διασώσαιτο. καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι νομίζοντες αὐτὸν καὶ ἄνευ μάχης ἐκτρυχωθῆναι, ἀνεῖχον.

[1] τοὺς supplied by Gros.

to conclude a truce with the Romans, especially since Ptolemy, too, was sending ambassadors from Egypt and trying to reconcile them. After some preliminary discussion between them . . . he no longer requested peace, but . . . and drew the Aetolians away from the Roman alliance by some [device?] and made them his friends. Nothing worthy of remembrance, however, was achieved either by them or by any others, either then or in the following year, when Lucius Veturius and Caecilius B.C. 206
Metellus became consuls; and this notwithstanding many portents of ill omen which were reported to the Romans. For example, a hermaphrodite lamb was born, and a swarm of . . . was seen, two serpents glided under the doors of the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, the doors as well as the altar in the temple of Neptune ran with copious sweat, in Antium bloody ears were seen by some reapers, elsewhere a

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with the Romans, but after some preliminary discussion the peace negotiations were dropped; then Philip detached the Aetolians from their alliance with the Romans and made them his own friends instead.

Hannibal for a time was keeping quiet, satisfied if he might only retain such advantages as were already his. And the consuls, believing that his power would waste away even without a battle, also waited.

ἀνεφάνη, κεραυνοί τε ἐς ναοὺς πολλοί, . . . P. 1 (p. 458 sq.).

52 Ὅτι Λικίννιος Κράσσος ὑπό τε ἐπιεικείας καὶ κάλλους πλούτου τε, ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ πλούσιος ἐπωνομάσθη, ὅτι τε ἀρχιερεὺς ἦν, ἔμελλεν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἀκλήρωτος μένειν.—V. 46 (p. 605).

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Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει ὅ τε Σκιπίων ὁ Πούπλιος καὶ Λικίννιος Κράσσος ὑπάτευσαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἔμεινεν, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐς Σικελίαν ἀπελθεῖν καὶ ἐς Λιβύην προσετέτακτο, ἵνα εἰ μὴ τὴν Καρχηδόνα αἱρήσει, τόν γε Ἀννίβαν τέως ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀνθελκύσῃ. οὔτε δὲ στράτευμα ἀξιόλογον οὔτε πρὸς τριήρεις ἀνάλωμα ἔλαβε, διὰ τὰς ἀριστείας φθονούμενος· μόλις δὲ καὶ τὰ πάνυ ἀναγκαῖα παρέσχον αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν σὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ τῶν συμμάχων καί τισιν ἐθελονταῖς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου ἀπῆρεν, ὁ δὲ Μάγων ἐκ τῆς νήσου παραπλεύσας εἰς τὴν Λιγυστικὴν ἀπέβη. ὁ Κράσσος δ' ἐν τῇ Βρεττίᾳ τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ προσήδρευεν. ὁ μέντοι Φίλιππος κατηλλάγη Ῥωμαίοις· Πούπλιον γὰρ Σεμπρώνιον εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν ἐλθόντα σὺν πολλῇ δυνάμει αἰσθόμενος ἀσμένως ἐσπείσατο.

Σκιπίων δ' ὁ ὕπατος εἰς Σικελίαν κατάρας παρεσκευάζετο μὲν ὡς ἐς Λιβύην[1] πλεύσων, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη δέ, μήτε δύναμιν ἐντελῆ καὶ αὐτὴν ἀσυγκρότητον ἔχων. διὸ πάντα τὸν χειμῶνα ἐκεῖ διήγαγε, τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἐξασκῶν καὶ ἄλλους προσκαταλέγων. μέλλοντι δὲ περαιώσεσθαι[2] ἀγγε-

[1] Λιβύην Wolf, σικελίαν Mss.
[2] περαιώσεσθαι Bs., περαιώσασθαι Mss.

woman with horns appeared and many thunderbolts . . . into temples . . .

Licinius Crassus, by reason of his amiability and beauty and wealth (which gained for him the name of Wealthy), and because he was a high priest, was to remain in Italy without taking part in the allotment of provinces. B.C. 205

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The next year Publius Scipio and Licinius Crassus became consuls. The latter remained in Italy, while Scipio had orders to leave for Sicily and Africa in order that, even if he should not capture Carthage, he might at least in the meantime draw Hannibal away from Italy. But he received neither an army of any account nor any allowance for triremes, owing to the jealousy aroused by his prowess; indeed, they scarcely supplied him with even the absolute necessities. He, then, set sail with the fleet of the allies and a few volunteers drawn from the populace; and Mago left the island,[1] and after sailing along the coast, disembarked in Liguria. Crassus was in Bruttium keeping watch upon Hannibal. Philip, however, had become reconciled with the Romans; for on ascertaining that Publius Sempronius had reached Apollonia with a large force he was glad to make peace. B.C. 205

Scipio, the consul, landed in Sicily and made ready to sail to Africa, but he could not do so because he had not a complete force at his disposal, and what he had was undisciplined. Therefore he spent the entire winter there, drilling his followers and enrolling additional recruits. As he was on the point of making the passage, a message came to

[1] Balearis Minor; see p. 221.

61 Ὅτι τοῦ Πυθίου κελεύσαντος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τῷ ἀρίστῳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν θεὸν τὴν ἐκ Πεσινοῦντος κομιζομένην ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, Πούπλιον Σκιπίωνα, παῖδα τοῦ Γναίου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ τελευτήσαντος ὄντα, ἁπάντων προέκριναν καὶ προετίμησαν. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ἄλλως τε[1] . . . καὶ

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λία αὐτῷ ἐκ Ῥηγίου ἧκε τὴν πόλιν τὴν τῶν Λοκρῶν τινας προδώσειν. τοῦ γὰρ φρουράρχου καταβοήσαντες καὶ μηδεμιᾶς ἐκδικίας παρὰ τοῦ Ἀννίβου τυχόντες πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπέκλιναν. δύναμιν οὖν πέμψας ἐκεῖ, πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως νυκτὸς μετὰ τῶν προδιδόντων κατέλαβε. τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων εἰς τὴν ἄκραν συνειληθέντων καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν μετακαλεσαμένων, κατὰ τάχος ἐξανήχθη καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων, καὶ πλησιάσαντα τῇ πόλει αἰφνιδίῳ ἐπεκδρομῇ ἀπεώσατο. εἶτα λαβὼν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ ἐπιτρέψας τὴν πᾶσαν πόλιν δύο χιλιάρχοις ἀνέπλευσεν. οὐκ ἠδυνήθη μέντοι τῇ Λιβύῃ προσπλεῦσαι. οὕτω δ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ ἔδεισαν, ὥστε χρήματα μὲν τῷ Φιλίππῳ στεῖλαι, ἵν' εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν στρατεύσῃ, καὶ τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ καὶ σῖτον πέμψαι καὶ στρατιώτας, καὶ ναῦς τῷ Μάγωνι καὶ χρήματα, ἵνα τὸν Σκιπίωνα κωλύσῃ περαιωθῆναι. ἐκ δὲ σημείων τινῶν νίκην οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι λαμπρὰν ἐλπίσαντες, τήν τε ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ[2] στρατιὰν τῷ Σκιπίωνι καὶ δύναμιν ἄλλην ὡς ἂν ἐθελήσῃ καταλέξασθαί οἱ ἐπέτρεψαν. τῶν γὰρ ὑπάτων Μάρκον

[1] Lacuna recognized by St.

[2] Σικελίᾳ Cary, λιβύῃ Mss. Compare the reverse error on p. 232. For the facts see Appian, Lib. 7.

The Pythian god had commanded the Romans to entrust to the best one of the citizens the conveyance to the city of the goddess from Pessinus, and they accordingly singled out and honoured above all others Publius Scipio,[1] son of the Gnaeus who had died in Spain. The reason was that he was in general . . . B.C. 204

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him from Rhegium that some men were going to betray the city of Locri. For after denouncing the commander of the garrison and obtaining no satisfaction from Hannibal, they now favoured the Romans. Scipio accordingly sent a force there, and with the aid of the conspirators seized many parts of the city during the night. The Carthaginians were cooped up in the citadel and sent for Hannibal, whereupon Scipio also set sail in haste, and by a sudden sally repulsed Hannibal when the latter had come close to the city. Then he captured the citadel, and after entrusting the entire city to the care of two tribunes, sailed back again. He was unable, however, to sail to Africa. The Carthaginians so dreaded his approach that they sent money to Philip to induce him to make a campaign against Italy, and sent grain and soldiers to Hannibal, and ships and money to Mago so that he might prevent Scipio from crossing. And the Romans, led by certain portents to expect a B.C. 204
brilliant victory, entrusted to Scipio the army that was in Sicily, and gave him permission to enroll as large an additional force as he pleased. As for the

[1] Publius Scipio Nasica.

εὐσεβὴς καὶ δίκαιος ἐνομίζετο. ὃς ταύτην τότε ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον μετὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων γυναικῶν ἀνήγαγεν.—V. 47 (p. 606).

62 Ὅτι πυθόμενοι τὰ τῶν Λοκρῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ νομίσαντες αὐτὰ ὀλιγωρίᾳ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος συμβεβηκέναι, χαλεπῶς τε ἔφερον, καὶ ἐβουλεύσαντο εὐθὺς ὑπὸ ὀργῆς τῆς τε ἡγεμονίας αὐτὸν παῦσαι καὶ ἐπὶ δίκην ἀνακαλέσαι, προσπαροξυνθέντες ὅτι τῇ τε Ἑλληνικῇ διαίτῃ ἐχρῆτο καὶ ὅτι ἱμάτιον ἀνεβάλλετο, ὅτι τε ἐς παλαίστραν παρέβαλλεν. ὅτι τε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἁρπάζειν τὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπιτρέπειν ἐλέγετο, τόν τε πλοῦν τὸν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα διατρίβειν ἐπίτηδες, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἄρξειεν, ὑπωπτεύετο, μέγιστον δέ, ἐναγόντων τῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς οἱ φθονούντων, μεταπέμψασθαι αὐτὸν ἤθελον. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος μεγάλην εὔνοιαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχον οὐκ ἐγένετο . . .—V. 48 (p. 606).

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μὲν Κέθηγον τῷ Μάγωνι, Πούπλιον δὲ Σεμπρώνιον τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ ἀντέταξαν.

12. Οἱ δέ γε Καρχηδόνιοι δείσαντες τὸν Μασινίσσαν μὴ Σκιπίωνι πρόσθηται, ἔπεισαν τὸν Σύφακα τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ ἀποδοῦναι, ὡς καὶ αὖθις αὐτὴν ἀνακτησόμενον. ὁ οὖν Μασινίσσας ὑπώ-

and was esteemed both pious and just. He, therefore, at this time, accompanied by the most prominent women, conducted the goddess into the city and to the Palatine.

The Romans, learning of the treatment of the Locrians, and thinking it had been due to Scipio's negligence, were indignant, and in their anger immediately planned to remove him from his command and to recall him for trial. They were further exasperated because he adopted Greek manners, wore his toga thrown back over his shoulder, and frequented the palaestra. Furthermore, he was said to be turning over the property of the allies to the soldiers for plunder, and he was suspected of delaying his voyage to Carthage purposely in order that he might hold office for a longer time; but it was principally at the instigation of men who all along had been jealous of him that they wished to summon him. This plan, however, was not carried out, because the populace, in view of their hopes, held him in great favour, . . .

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consuls, they opposed Marcus Cethegus to Mago, and Publius Sempronius to Hannibal.

12. The Carthaginians, fearing that Masinissa would join Scipio, persuaded Syphax to restore to him his domain; for they gave him to understand that he should get it back again. Masinissa was sus-

63 . . . [1] σχόντες στρατόπεδόν τε ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ πᾶν αὐτὸ σταυρώμασι περιέφραξαν, χάρακας ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐνεγκάμενοι. ἄρτι τε κατεσκεύαστο, καὶ δράκων παρ' αὐτὸ μέγας διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα φερούσης ὁδοῦ παρείρπυσεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὸν Σκιπίωνα κατὰ τὴν περὶ τοῦ γονέως αὐτοῦ φήμην ἐπιθαρσήσαντα προθυμότερον τήν τε χώραν πορθῆ-

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πτευε μὲν τὸ πραττόμενον, κατηλλάγη δὲ δῆθεν, ἵνα πιστὸς νομισθεὶς μέγα τι σφῆλαι αὐτοὺς δυνηθῇ· μᾶλλον γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς Σοφωνίδος ἢ τῆς βασιλείας ὠργίζετο. διὸ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσέκειτο, ὑποκρινόμενος τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων αἱρεῖσθαι. ὁ δέ γε Σύφαξ τὰ τῶν Λιβύων πράττων ἐπλάττετο Ῥωμαίοις ἔνσπονδος εἶναι, καὶ στείλας πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα παρῄνει μὴ ποιήσασθαι τὴν διάβασιν. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα δι' ἀπορρήτων ὁ Σκιπίων, ἵνα μὴ γνῶσιν οἱ στρατιῶται, τόν τε κήρυκα αὐθημερὸν ἀπέπεμψε μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ προσομιλήσαντα, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα συγκαλέσας ἐπέσπευδε τὴν διάβασιν, ἔτι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀπαρασκεύους λέγων εἶναι, καὶ πρότερον μὲν τὸν Μασινίσσαν, τότε δὲ καὶ τὸν Σύφακα μετακαλεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ χρονίζουσιν ἐγκαλεῖν. ταῦτα εἰπὼν μηδὲν ἔτι μελλήσας ἐξανήχθη· καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ καλούμενον Ἀπολλώνιον προσορμίσας τὰς ναῦς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει, προσέμισγέ τε ταῖς πόλεσι

[1] In this and the following fragments from the Paris Ms. the text adopted is that of Bs., except where the contrary is stated. Many words and some whole lines are illegible, and

. . . they landed and pitched their camp in a suitable place, fencing it round about with palisades, since they had brought along stakes for this very purpose. It had just been finished when a great serpent came gliding along beside it on the road leading to Carthage. Scipio, owing to the tradition about his father, felt encouraged by this portent, and with renewed zeal devastated the

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picious of the transaction, yet pretended to be reconciled, in order to win the confidence of the Carthaginians and so be able to bring some great disaster upon them. For he was more enraged over Sophonisba than over the kingdom, and consequently was devoting himself to the Roman interests while affecting to be for the Carthaginians. Syphax, on the other hand, though working for the African cause, professed to be in alliance with the Romans, and sent to Scipio, warning him against crossing over. Scipio learned this as a piece of secret information, and to prevent the knowledge of it from reaching the soldiers, he sent the herald back at once before he had time to talk with anybody else. Then he called together the army and hastened forward the preparations for crossing; he declared that the Carthaginians were still unprepared, and that first Masinissa, and now Syphax, was calling for them and upbraiding them for lingering. After this speech he set sail without further delay; and bringing his ships to anchor near the cape called the Cape of Apollo, he encamped and proceeded to devastate the country and make assaults upon the

the restorations of Haase, Gros, Bs., and others are often widely divergent.

64 σαι καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι προσμῖξαι. καί τινας καὶ εἷλεν αὐτῶν· οἵ τε Καρχηδόνιοι μηδέπω . . . παρεσκευασμένοι ἡσύχαζον, καὶ ὁ Σύφαξ ὀνόματι μὲν φίλος αὐτῶν ἦν, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ ἐκ μέσου εἱστήκει· καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα καταλλαγὰς αὐτοῖς πρυτανεύειν ἐβούλετο, κρατήσαντας τοὺς ἑτέρους τῶν τε ἑτέρων ἂν ἅμα καὶ ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότας γενέσθαι νομίζων καὶ ἀντιπάλους ὅτι μάλιστα
65 ἀλλήλοις ὄντας ἐλπίζων διαλλάξειν.[1] ἐγκειμένου δ' οὖν τῇ χώρᾳ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὁ Ἄννων ὁ ἵππαρχος (ἦν δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου τοῦ Γίσγωνος) φ . ξ . . εινος μὲν τὸν . . . . διεστ . . . ἀνεπείσθη πρὸς τοῦ Μασινίσσου . . . . χω . . . Καρχηδονίοις . . . . ν πολεμικῶν ομ . . ριας ἐν π . . . . νε . . ε . φ . . σιν ἐπιστεύετο· κἀκ τούτου προπέμψας ὁ Σκιπίων ἱππέας τινὰς ἐκ τῆς συμβουλίας τῆς τοῦ Μασινίσσου ἐνήδρευσεν ἐς χωρία ἐπιτήδεια ἐς λείαν ὄντα, ἵνα καταδρομὴν ποιούμενοι ὑποφεύγωσι καὶ ἐπισπῶνται τοὺς
66 ἐπιδιῶξαί σφας ἐθελήσοντας. γενομένου δὲ τούτου

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καὶ εἷλέ τινας. ἐγκειμένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῇ χώρᾳ, Ἄννων ὁ ἵππαρχος, υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου τοῦ Γίσγωνος, ἀνεπείσθη πρὸς τοῦ Μασινίσσου ἐπιθέσθαι αὐτοῖς. ὁ οὖν Σκιπίων ἱππέας πέμψας τινὰς χωρία πρὸς καταδρομὴν ἐπιτήδεια ἐληίζετο, ἵν' ὑποφεύγοντες ἐπισπάσωνται τοὺς ἐπιδιώκοντας. τῶν οὖν Καρχηδονίων

[1] ἐλπίζων διαλλάξειν Cary, ἐθέλων διαλλάξαι Bs., ε . . . δ . . λλ . . . Ms.

country and made assaults upon the cities, some of which he succeeded in capturing. As for the Carthaginians, not being as yet . . . prepared, they remained quiet. Syphax was nominally their friend, but, as a matter of fact, was remaining neutral ; for he was desirous of securing peace for the Carthaginians with Scipio, anticipating, as he did, that the victory of either side would make it the master not only of the other power but of himself as well, and hopeful that he could reconcile them in spite of their intense rivalry. Now since Scipio was harrying the country, Hanno, the cavalry commander, the son of Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, . . . was persuaded by Masinissa . . . to the Carthaginians . . . warlike . . . was believed ; and, therefore, Scipio, sending forward some horsemen on the advice of Masinissa, laid an ambush in a region suitable for securing booty, in order that they might make a raid, and then, by simulating flight, draw on those who were willing to pursue them. This was exactly what happened :

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cities, some of which he captured. But while the Romans were harrying the country, Hanno, the cavalry commander, the son of Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, was persuaded by Masinissa to attack them. Scipio, accordingly, sent some horsemen and was plundering some districts that were easy to raid, in order that his men by simulating flight might draw the enemy in pursuit. So when they turned to flee,

καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπεξελθόντων τε ἐκείνοις καὶ δι' ὀλίγου κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον τραπομένοις ἀνὰ κράτος ἐπισπομένων, ὅ τε Μασινίσσας μετὰ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἱππέων ὑπολειφθεὶς κατὰ νώτου τοῖς διώκουσιν ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐξαναστὰς ἐκ τοῦ λόχου ἐπιὼν ἀπήντησεν αὐτοῖς, ὥστ' ἀμφιβόλους δίχα ἀποληφθέντας καὶ ἀποθανεῖν πολλοὺς καὶ ἁλῶναι . . . δ . ε . καὶ τὸν Ἄννωνα.
67 πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Ἀσδρούβας τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Μασινίσσου συνέλαβε. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἀνταπεδόθησαν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Σύφαξ εὖ τε εἰδὼς ὅτι ὁ Μασινίσσας οὐ Καρχηδονίοις μᾶλλόν τι ἢ καὶ αὐτῷ πολεμήσει, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ συμμάχων, ἄν τι ἐκεῖνοι ἐγκαταλειφέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάθωσι, γένηται, τήν τε προσποίητον πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν ἀπεῖπε καὶ τοῖς Καρχη-
68 δονίοις φανερῶς συνῄρετο· οὐ μέντοι γε καθαρῶς, ὥστε καὶ ἀνθίστασθαί σφισιν, ἀλλὰ ἀδεῶς ἐκεῖνοι

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ἐπισπομένων αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα τραπομένοις, ὁ Μασινίσσας τε κατὰ νώτου γενόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐπέθετο τοῖς διώκουσι, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκ τοῦ λόχου ἐπεκδραμὼν προσέμιξεν αὐτοῖς. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐφθάρησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἑάλωσαν καὶ ὁ Ἄννων αὐτός. διὸ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Μασινίσσου συνέλαβε· καὶ ἀνταπεδόθησαν. ὁ δὲ Σύφαξ τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίας τὴν δόκησιν ἀπειπὼν φανερῶς τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις συνῄρετο. οἱ δὲ

the Carthaginians attacked them, and when the others in a little while turned to flight, according to agreement, they pursued at full speed; then Masinissa, lagging behind with his attendant cavalry, got in the rear of the pursuers, and Scipio rose up from ambush and advanced to meet them. Thus they were surrounded and attacked from both sides, with the result that many were killed and many captured, including Hanno. On learning of this, Hasdrubal arrested the mother of Masinissa; and these two captives were exchanged. Syphax now, being well aware that Masinissa would war against him no less than against the Carthaginians, and fearing that he might find himself bereft of allies if they suffered any harm through his desertion of their cause, renounced his pretended friendship for the Romans and openly assisted the Carthaginians. He failed, however, to render them whole-hearted assistance, to

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according to arrangement, and the Carthaginians followed them up, Masinissa with his companions got in the rear of the pursuers and attacked them, while Scipio rushed out from his ambush and joined battle with them. Thus many perished, and many also were captured, among them Hanno himself. Therefore Hasdrubal arrested the mother of Masinissa, and the two captives were exchanged. Syphax now renounced even the appearance of friendship for the Romans and openly assisted the Carthaginians.

καταθέοντες λείαν τε πολλὴν ἦγον καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου πρότερον ἐς τὴν Λιβύην πεμφθέντων ἐκομίσαντο, καταφρονήσαντές τε αὐτῶν διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐτίκην
69 ἐπεστράτευσαν. ἰδόντες οὖν τοῦτο ὅ τε Σύφαξ καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας καὶ δείσαντες περὶ αὐτῇ, οὐκέτ' ἐκαρτέρησαν, ἀλλ' ἀντεπελθόντες ἔλυσαν τὴν πολιορκίαν, μὴ τολμησάντων αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἅμα ἀγωνίσασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τούτου κατὰ χώραν ἐχείμασαν, τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τὰ μὲν αὐτόθεν λαμβάνοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας τῆς τε Σαρδοῦς μεταπεμπόμενοι· αἱ γὰρ νῆές σφισιν αἱ τὰ λάφυρα ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἄγουσαι καὶ τροφὴν ἂν ἐπῆγον.

70 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρὸς Ἀννίβαν πόλεμον οὐδὲν μέγα ἐπράχθη, Πούπλιος γὰρ Σεμπρώνιος μάχῃ τινὶ βραχείᾳ νικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου ἀντεπεκράτησεν αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ δὴ Λίουιος καὶ ὁ Νέρων τιμητεύσαντες τοῖς τε Λατίνοις τοῖς προλιποῦσι τὴν συστρατείαν καὶ διπλοῦν ἀποδιδόναι πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν

Zonaras 9, 12.

Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἐληίζοντο τὴν χώραν, καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου πρὸς τὴν Λιβύην πεμφθέντων ἀνεκομίσαντο, καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἐχείμασαν.

the point of actually resisting the Romans, and the latter overran the country with impunity, carrying off much plunder and recovering many prisoners from Italy who had previously been sent to Africa by Hannibal; consequently they scorned their foes and began a campaign against Utica. When Syphax and Hasdrubal saw this, they so feared for the safety of the place that they no longer remained passive, but took the aggressive in their turn and raised the siege; for the Romans did not dare to contend against both leaders at the same time. Thereupon the invaders went into winter quarters where they were, getting some of their provisions from the immediate neighbourhood and sending for some from Sicily and Sardinia; for the ships that carried the spoils to Sicily would also bring them food supplies.

In Italy nothing important was accomplished in the war against Hannibal; for though Publius Sempronius was defeated by Hannibal in a trivial battle, he later won a victory over him. Livius and Nero, however, as censors, directed those Latins who had abandoned their military service and had now been commanded to furnish a double quota of soldiers, to

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Zonaras 9, 12.

And the Romans both plundered the country and recovered many prisoners from Italy who had been sent to Africa by Hannibal; and they went into winter quarters where they were.

προσταχθεῖσι διδόναι ἀπογραφὰς ἐπήγγειλαν, ὅπως καὶ ἄλλοι χρήματά σφισι συνεσφέρωσι, καὶ τοὺς ἅλας ἀτελεῖς μέχρι τότε ὄντας ὑπο-
71 τελεῖς ἐποίησαν· τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως ἔλεξα, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὁ Λίουιος ἔπραξέ τε αὐτὸ ἀμυνόμενος τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τῇ καταψηφίσει, καὶ ἐπίκλησιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔλαβε· Σαλινάτωρ γὰρ ἐπωνομάσθη. διά τε οὖν τοῦτο περιβόητοι οἱ τιμηταὶ οὗτοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ ὅτι τε ἀλλήλους τῶν τε ἵππων παρείλοντο καὶ αἰραρίους ἐποίησαν . . . όντες κατὰ τὴν . . . P. 2 (pp. 460 sq.).

72 Ὅτι ὁ Σκιπίων ναῦν Καρχηδονίαν λαβὼν ἀφῆκε μηδὲν ἀδικήσας, ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἐπλάσαντο· ᾔδει μὲν γὰρ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἑαλωκότων σωτηρίᾳ προεφασίσθη, προετίμησε δὲ τῆς καθέξεως αὐτῶν τὸ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν διαβληθῆναί

Zonaras 9, 12.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Γναίου Σκιπίωνος καὶ Γαΐου Σερουιλίου ὑπατευσάντων οἵ τε Καρχηδόνιοι ἐλαττωθέντες τῷ πολέμῳ συμβῆναι ἠθέλησαν, καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας καὶ ὁ Μάγων ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξέπεσον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὕπατοι τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ καὶ τῷ Μάγωνι ἀντικαθίσταντο, Σκιπίων δὲ τήν τε Λιβύην ἐκάκου καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι προσέβαλλε. κἀν τούτῳ ναῦν Καρχηδονίαν λαβὼν ἀφῆκεν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἐπλάσαντο. ᾔδει μὲν γὰρ τὸ πλάσμα, προετίμησε

deliver up their registers, so that still others might contribute money; and they put a tax on salt, which up to that time had been free of tax. I have mentioned this measure with a special purpose, since Livius designed it to avenge himself upon the citizens for their vote of condemnation; and he received a nickname from it, for he was now called Salinator.[1] This was one act that caused these censors to become famous; another was that they deprived each other of their horses and made each other *aerarii*[2] . . . according to the . . .

Scipio captured a Carthaginian vessel, but released it without inflicting any injury, since those on board pretended to be coming to him on an embassy. He knew, to be sure, that this was a pretext invented to secure the safety of the captives, but preferred

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Zonaras 9, 12.

After this, when Gnaeus Scipio and Gaius Servilius had become consuls, the Carthaginians, having got the worst of it in the war, desired to arrange terms of peace; and Hannibal and Mago were driven out of Italy. For the consuls had made a stand against Hannibal and Mago, and Scipio was ravaging Africa and assailing the cities. Meanwhile he captured a Carthaginian vessel, but released it when those on board pretended to be coming to him on an embassy. He recognised the deception, to be sure, but preferred to avoid the reproach of B.C. 203

[1] Salinator = "salt-dealer."

[2] Citizens of the lowest class, who paid only a poll-tax and had no vote.

πως δυνάμενον ποιῆσαι. τοῦ τε Σύφακος καὶ τότε ἔτι συναλλάττοντος αὐτοὺς ὡς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπᾶραι, ἐδέξατο τὸν λόγον, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐπίστευέν οἱ, ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτὸν σφήλῃ.—V. 49 (p. 606).

Zonaras 9, 12.

δὲ τὸ μὴ διαβληθῆναι ὡς πρέσβεις κατεσχηκώς. καὶ τοῦ Σύφακος πράττοντος ἔτι διαλλαγάς, ὥστε ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης μὲν τὸν Σκιπίωνα, τὸν δ' Ἀννίβαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπᾶραι, ἐδέξατο τὸν λόγον, οὐχ ὡς πιστεύων αὐτῷ, ἵνα δὲ σφήλῃ αὐτόν. τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν ἄλλοτε ἄλλους κατὰ τὴν τῶν σπονδῶν πρόφασιν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πέμπων καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σύφακος, ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντα τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς κατεσκέψαντο, τὴν σύμβασιν ἀπ' εὐλόγου δή τινος σκήψεως, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι ὁ Σύφαξ ἐπιβουλεύων ἐφωράθη τῷ Μασινίσσᾳ, διεκρούσατο. νυκτὸς δ' ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα αὐτῶν οὐ πάνυ ἀλλήλων διέχοντα, καὶ πῦρ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου πολλαχόθεν ἅμα ὑπέβαλε. καὶ ἐμπρησθέντος ῥᾷστα αὐτοῦ (ἐκ γὰρ καλάμης καὶ ἐκ φυλλάδων ἐπεποίηντο αὐτοῖς αἱ σκηναί), οἵ τε Καρχηδόνιοι κακῶς ἀπήλλαξαν, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Σύφακα βοηθῆσαι αὐτοῖς ἐθελήσαντες τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς περιέχουσι περιέπεσον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπώλοντο, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον προσενεπρήσθη αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐφθάρησαν πολλοὶ καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ἄνθρωποι. οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ταῦτα πεποιηκότες νυκτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἔπαθον, ἡμέρας δ' ἐπιφαυσάσης

avoiding any possibility of reproach to retaining them. Also, when Syphax still endeavoured at that time to reconcile them, on the condition that Scipio should depart from Africa and Hannibal from Italy, he listened to his proposal, not because he really trusted him, but with the purpose of outwitting him.

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having detained envoys. And when Syphax still endeavoured to effect a reconciliation, on the condition that Scipio should depart from Africa and Hannibal from Italy, he listened to his proposal, not because he trusted him, but with the purpose of outwitting him. For on the excuse afforded by the truce he sent various soldiers at various times into the Carthaginian camp and into that of Syphax; and when they had carefully inspected everything on the other side, he rejected the treaty, on a plausible pretext, of course, which was the more readily found because Syphax had been detected in a plot against Masinissa. And at night he proceeded to their camps, which were not very far apart, and secretly set fire to that of Hasdrubal at many points simultaneously. It rapidly blazed up, since they had constructed their shelters of straw and branches; and the Carthaginians fared badly. The followers of Syphax, too, in attempting to aid them encountered the Romans who hemmed in the place, and so perished, while their camp was set on fire, and many men and horses perished. The Romans, after accomplishing this, escaped injury during the rest of the night, but when day had

Zonaras 9, 12.

Ἴβηρες ἄρτι Καρχηδονίοις ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ ἐλθόντες προσέπεσον αὐτοῖς ἀπροσδόκητοι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν.

Εὐθὺς οὖν Ἀσδρούβας μὲν εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα, Σύφαξ δὲ οἴκαδε ἀπεχώρησεν. ὁ δέ γε Σκιπίων Σύφακι μὲν τὸν Μασινίσσαν καὶ Γάιον ἀντέταξε Λαίλιον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἤλασεν. οἱ δ' αὖ Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸς τὸ ἔρυμα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ᾧ χειμαδίῳ ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἐς ὃ ἀπετίθεντο πάντα, ναῦς ἔπεμψαν, ἵνα ἢ αὐτὸ αἱρήσωσιν ἢ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπάξωσι τὸν Σκιπίωνα. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως· μαθὼν γὰρ τὸ γινόμενον ἀπανέστη, καὶ ἐπειχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ναύσταθμον διὰ φυλακῆς αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατο. καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ῥᾳδίως τοὺς προσμίξαντας αὐτοῖς ἀπεώσαντο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ πολὺ ἠλαττώθησαν· καὶ ναῦς γὰρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων χειρῶν σιδηρῶν ἐπιβολῇ ἀπέσπασαν. ἀποβῆναι δ' ἐς τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλ' ἀναπλεύσαντες οἴκαδε τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἀπεχειροτόνησαν, Ἄννωνα δέ τινα ἀνθείλοντο. κἀκ τούτου Ἄννων μὲν στρατηγὸς ἦν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸν δούλους τινὰς καὶ αὐτομόλους παραλαβὼν δύναμιν οὐκ ἀσθενῆ συνεκρότησε, καί τινας τῶν Ἰβήρων τῶν συστρατευομένων τῷ Σκιπίωνι κρύφα ἀναπείσας ἐπεχείρησε νυκτὸς ἐπιβουλεῦσαι τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοῦ. κἂν ἐξειργάσατό τι, εἰ μὴ οἵ τε μάντεις ὑπὸ ὀρνίθων ἐκταραχθέντες καὶ ἡ τοῦ Μασινίσσου μήτηρ θειάσασα ζήτησιν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι ἐποίησαν. καὶ

Zonaras 9, 12.

dawned, some Spaniards who had just arrived as Carthaginian allies fell upon them unexpectedly and killed a large number.

Hasdrubal accordingly retired at once to Carthage and Syphax to his own country. Scipio set Masinissa and Gaius Laelius to oppose Syphax, while he himself marched against the Carthaginians. The latter in turn sent ships against the stronghold of the Romans, which they were using as winter quarters and as a storehouse for all their goods. They hoped either to capture it, or to draw Scipio away from themselves. And such was the result: as soon as he heard of their move, he withdrew and hurried to the harbour, which he placed under guard. Now on the first day the Romans easily repulsed their assailants, but on the next day they had decidedly the worst of the encounter; for the Carthaginians dragged off Roman ships by seizing them with grappling irons. They did not venture, however, to disembark, but sailed homewards, after which they superseded Hasdrubal, choosing a certain Hanno in his place. From this time Hanno was the general, but his predecessor privately got hold of some slaves and deserters whom he welded together into a fairly strong force; he then quietly persuaded some of the Spaniards who were serving in Scipio's army to help him, and attempted one night to carry out a plot against the Roman's camp. And he would indeed have accomplished something, had not the soothsayers, dismayed by the actions of birds, and the mother of Masinissa, through her prophetic utterances, caused the Spaniards to be

73 Ὅτι ἦλθον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα τά τε ἄλλα πολλὰ ἄγοντες καὶ τὸν Σύφακα. καὶ ὃς ἰδὼν αὐτὸν δεδεμένον οὐκ ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς τε παρ' αὐτῷ ξενίσεως μνημονεύσας, καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια παθήματα ἀναλογισάμενος, ὅτι τε βασιλέα

Zonaras 9, 12–13.

οἱ μὲν προκαταληφθέντες ἐκολάσθησαν, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐστράτευσε καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐδῄου, 13. Σύφαξ δὲ ἐπολέμει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Λαίλιον. καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἀντέσχεν· εἶτα ὑπερέσχον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφόνευσαν, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐζώγρησαν, καὶ τὸν Σύφακα εἷλον. καὶ τὴν Κίρταν τὰ βασίλεια αὐτοῦ παρέλαβον ἀμάχως, τοῖς ἔνδον δεδεμένον αὐτὸν ἐπιδείξαντες.

Ἦν δ' ἐκεῖ καὶ ἡ Σοφωνίς. καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ Μασινίσσας εὐθὺς εἰσεπήδησε, καὶ περιλαβὼν αὐτὴν "ἔχω μὲν Σύφακα," εἶπε, "τὸν ἀφαρπάσαντά σε, ἔχω δὲ καὶ σέ. ἀλλὰ μὴ δέδιθι· οὐδὲ γὰρ αἰχμάλωτος γέγονας, ἐμὲ σύμμαχον ἔχουσα." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἔγημεν αὐτὴν παραχρῆμα προκαταλαβὼν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, μή πως αὐτῆς ἁμάρτῃ γενομένης ἐν τοῖς λαφύροις. εἶτα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις τοῦ Σύφακος προσεποιήσαντο. καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἦλθον ἄγοντες τά τε λοιπὰ καὶ τὸν Σύφακα. καὶ ὃς ἰδὼν αὐτὸν δεδεμένον οὐκ ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς παρ' αὐτῷ μνημονεύσας ξενίας καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἀναλογισάμενος, ἀνεπή-

The Romans came to Scipio bringing Syphax himself along with many spoils. Scipio could not endure to see him remain bound, but calling to mind his own entertainment at the other's court, and reflecting on the instability of human affairs,—on the fact that the captive whom he now beheld in so pitiable a plight

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Zonaras 9, 12–13.

examined. So the conspirators were apprehended in season and punished. Scipio again made a campaign against Carthage, and was engaged in devastating the country; (13) Syphax, meanwhile, was waging war upon the followers of Laelius and held out for some time, but eventually the Romans prevailed, slaughtered many, took many alive, and captured Syphax. They also acquired possession of Cirta, his palace, without a contest, by displaying to its defenders their king, now a prisoner.

Now Sophonisba also was at this place. Masinissa at once rushed towards her, and embracing her, said: "I have Syphax, who stole you away. I have you also. But fear not: you have not become a captive, since you have in me an ally." With these words he married her on the spot, thus anticipating any action on the part of the Romans, out of fear that he might somehow lose her, if she were reckoned among the spoil. Then they gained control of the rest of the cities of Syphax also. And they brought to Scipio along with the various spoils Syphax himself. Scipio could not endure to see him remain bound, but calling to mind his own entertainment at the other's court, and reflecting on the un-

δυνάμεως οὐ σμικρᾶς καὶ ὅτι ἀξιοσπούδαστον καὶ ἑαυτῷ γενόμενον ἑώρα τότε οἰκτρῶς οὕτως[1] *ἔχοντα, ἀνεπήδησε μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δίφρου καὶ ἔλυσέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐδεξιώσατο καὶ ἐν θεραπείᾳ πολλῇ ἦγε.*—V. 50 (p. 606).

Zonaras 9, 13.

δησεν ἐκ τοῦ δίφρου ἔλυσέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐδεξιώσατο καὶ ἐντίμως ἦγε. καί ποτε ἤρετο "τί σοι δόξαν ἐπολέμησας ἡμῖν;" ὁ δὲ ἑαυτόν τε σοφῶς ἐξῃτήσατο ἅμα καὶ τὸν Μασινίσσαν ἠμύνατο, εἰπὼν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ τὴν Σοφωνίδα γενέσθαι. τῷ γὰρ πατρὶ τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ χαριζομένην καταδῆσαι αὐτὸν μαγγανείαις, ὥστε καὶ ἄκοντα τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πρᾶξαι. "ἀλλ' ὅτι ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἠπάτημαι, ἀξίαν ἔδωκα δίκην· ἔχω δ' οὖν τι ἐν κακοῖς παραμύθιον, ὅτι ὁ Μασινίσσας αὐτὴν ἔγημε· πάντως γὰρ καὶ ἐκεῖνον ὁμοίως διολέσει."

Ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ὑποπτεύσας ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ Μασινίσσου, ἐκάλεσέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ ᾐτιάσατο, ὅτι γυναῖκα πολεμίαν καὶ αἰχμάλωτον ἄνευ τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης οὕτω ταχέως ἔγημε, καὶ παραδοῦναι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὴν ἐκέλευσεν. ὁ δὲ περιαλγήσας μέν, εἰσπηδήσας δ' εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν ἔφη τῇ Σοφωνίδι "εἰ μὲν οἷός τ' ἦν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ θανάτῳ ἐλευθέραν φυλάξαι σε καὶ ἀνύβριστον, προθύμως ἄν σου ὑπεραπέθανον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἀδύνατον, προπέμπω σε ἔνθα κἀγὼ καὶ ἅπαντες ἀφιξόμεθα." καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν φάρμακον αὐτῇ ὤρεξεν. ἡ δὲ οὔτ' ἀνωλοφύρατο οὔτ' ἐστέναξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ γενναίως "εἰ τοῦτό σοι," ἔφη, "ἄνερ,

[1] *οὕτως* Val., *οὐ* Ms.

had been king of a very considerable realm and one whose friendship he himself had found worth while cultivating,—he leaped up from his chair, loosed him, embraced him, and treated him with great respect.

Zonaras 9, 13.

certainty of human affairs, he leaped up from his chair, loosed him, embraced him, and treated him with consideration. And he asked him once: "What was your reason for going to war with us?" Syphax excused himself skilfully and at the same time got his revenge upon Masinissa by declaring that Sophonisba had been responsible for his conduct: to please her father, Hasdrubal, she had compelled him by her wiles to take the side of the Carthaginians against his will. "At any rate," he continued, "I have paid a proper penalty for being hoodwinked by a woman, and in the midst of my evils have at least one consolation—that Masinissa has married her. For she will certainly bring about his utter ruin likewise."

Scipio, feeling suspicious about this action of Masinissa, called him and censured him for having so speedily married without his consent a woman taken captive from the enemy, and he bade him give her up to the Romans. Masinissa was greatly grieved, and rushing into the tent where Sophonisba was, cried out to her: "If I might by my own death have ensured you liberty and freedom from outrage, I would cheerfully have died for you; but since this is impossible, I send you before me whither I and all shall go." With these words he offered her poison. And she uttered neither lament nor moan, but very nobly replied: "Husband, if this is

77 Πλεῖστοι ὅσοι ἐστρατεύσαντο, ὥς που πολλὰ ἑκουσίως πολλοὶ ὧν οὐδὲν ἂν[1] ἀναγκαζόμενοι δράσειαν ποιοῦσι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ προσταττόμενόν σφισι ὡς καὶ βίαιον δυσχεραίνουσιν, τὸ δ' αὐθαίρετον ὡς καὶ αὐτοκράτορες ἀγαπῶσιν.—V. 51 (p. 609).

74 Ὅτι ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι, τῶν τε ἐπιταχθέντων σφίσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ὅτι οὐχ ὑποσχόμενοι, οἷα μηδὲν αὐτῶν[2] πράξειν[3] μέλλοντες, χρήματα μὲν αὐτῷ εὐθὺς ἔδοσαν[4] καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πάντας ἀπέδωκαν,

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Zonaras 9, 13.

δοκεῖ, κἀγὼ πείθομαι· τῆς γὰρ ψυχῆς μου μετὰ σὲ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος κυριεύσει· εἰ δὲ τοῦ σώματός μου Σκιπίων δεῖται, νεκρὸν αὐτὸ λαβέτω." καὶ ἡ μὲν οὕτως ἀπέθανε, Σκιπίων δὲ τὸ ἔργον ἐθαύμασεν.

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τοῦ Λαιλίου τὸν Σύφακα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐκείνου Οὐερμίναν ἀγαγόντος ἐκεῖ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς τῶν πρώτων, τὸν μὲν Σύφακα εἰς τὴν Ἄλβαν κατέθεντο καὶ τελευτήσαντα δημοσίᾳ ἔθαψαν, τῷ δὲ Οὐερμίνᾳ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπεκύρωσαν καὶ τοὺς ζωγρηθέντας Νομάδας ἐχαρίσαντο.

Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι περὶ σπονδῶν ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι χρήματά τε εὐθὺς ἔδοσαν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πάντας ἀπέδωκαν καὶ ὑπὲρ

[1] ἂν inserted by Rk. [2] αὐτῶν Rk., αὐτῷ Mss.
[3] πράξειν Naber, παρέξειν Mss. [4] ἔδοσαν Reim., ἔδωσαν Mss.

Ever so many took part in the campaign; for somehow it happens that a great many men do voluntarily many things which they would not for a moment do under compulsion. They look askance at their instructions as at something forced upon them, but are delighted with the projects of their own minds because they feel themselves their own masters.[1]

The Carthaginians made overtures to Scipio, and agreed to every one of the demands he made upon them, inasmuch as they had no intention of performing any of them. They did, to be sure, give him money at once and restored all the prisoners, but in

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your will, I am content. My soul shall after you know no other lord; as for my body, if Scipio requires that, let him take it with life extinct." Thus she died, and Scipio marvelled at the deed.

Laelius conducted to Rome Syphax and his son Vermina and some others of the foremost men; and the citizens gave Syphax an estate at Alba, and at his death honoured him with a public funeral; and they confirmed Vermina in the possession of his father's kingdom besides bestowing upon him the Numidian captives.

The Carthaginians made overtures to Scipio concerning a truce, and they gave him money at once and restored all the prisoners, and in regard to the

[1] Macchioro (*Klio* 10, p. 359), comparing Livy 30, 3, 1, believes this refers to the general eagerness shown at the beginning of the year 203 to aid Scipio in Africa. While there are some objections to this view, it seems more probable than that of Boissevain, who refers the fragment to the expedition of Sulpicius Galba against Macedonia in 200.

ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπρεσβεύσαντο. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνοι τότε οὐ προσεδέξαντο, λέγοντες οὐκ εἶναί σφισι πάτριον στρατοπέδων τισὶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὄντων ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης χρηματίζειν. ὕστερον δὲ ἀπάραντος τοῦ τε Ἀννίβου καὶ τοῦ Μάγωνος λόγον αὐτοῖς ἔδοσαν,[1] *καὶ ἦλθον μὲν ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ταῖς γνώμαις γενόμενοι, τέλος δὲ ἐψηφίσαντο τὰς σπονδὰς ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Σκιπίων συνετέθειτο.*[2] —U^G 7 (p. 380).

75 *Ὅτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἐπέθεντο καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. τοῦ δὲ Σκιπίωνος*

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τῶν λοιπῶν πρεσβείαν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλαν. τοὺς δέ γε πρέσβεις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τότε οὐ προσεδέξαντο, λέγοντες οὐκ εἶναι πάτριον σφίσι στρατοπέδων ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὄντων τισὶ πρεσβείαν προσίεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ χρηματίζειν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης. ὕστερον δέ, ἀπάραντος τοῦ τε Ἀννίβου καὶ τοῦ Μάγωνος, λόγου σφίσι μετέδωκαν καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο τὰς σπονδάς. ἐξεχώρησαν δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὅ τε Ἀννίβας καὶ ὁ Μάγων οὐ διὰ τὴν σύμβασιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν οἴκοι πόλεμον ἐπειγόμενοι.

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ Καρχηδόνιοι οὐδὲ πρότερον εἰρηναῖόν τι φρονοῦντες, καὶ περὶ σπονδῶν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ χρόνου τριβῇ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀννίβου παρουσίαν ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι, ὡς τὸν Ἀννίβαν πλησιάζοντα ἔμαθον, ἀνεθάρσησαν, καὶ ἐπέθεντο τῷ Σκιπίωνι κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. κἀκείνου περὶ

[1] *ἔδοσαν* Bs., *ἔδωσαν* Mss. [2] *συνετέθειτο* Bk., *συνετίθετο* Mss.

regard to the other matters they sent envoys to Rome. The Romans would not receive them at that time, declaring that it was a tradition with them not to discuss peace with any people while their armies were in Italy. But later, when Hannibal and Mago had departed, they granted the envoys an audience and fell into a dispute among themselves, being of two minds. At last, however they voted for peace on the terms that Scipio had arranged.

The Carthaginians attacked Scipio both by land and by sea. And when Scipio, vexed at this, made

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remaining matters they sent an embassy to Rome. However, the Romans would not receive the envoys at that time, declaring that it was a tradition with them not to admit an embassy from any people or to discuss peace while their armies were in Italy. Later, when Hannibal and Mago had departed, they accorded the envoys an audience and voted for peace. Yet Hannibal and Mago left Italy, not in the interest of the treaty, but through haste to reach the scene of war at home.

The Carthaginians in Africa even before this time had not been thinking seriously of peace, and had sued for a truce only for the purpose of using up time, with a view to securing Hannibal's presence. So when they heard that he was drawing near, they took courage and attacked Scipio both by land and by sea. When he complained to them about

ἀγανακτήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἔγκλημα ποιησαμένου οὔτε τι μέτριον τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀπεκρίναντο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτοῖς ἀποπλεύσασιν· καὶ εἴγε μὴ ἄνεμός σφισι κατὰ τύχην ἐπιγενόμενος ἐβοήθησεν, ἑάλωσαν[1] *ἂν ἢ ἀπώλοντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Σκιπίων, καίπερ ἐπελθόντων ἐν τούτῳ τῶν τὴν εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς φερόντων, οὐκέτ' αὐτὴν ἐποιήσατο.*—U[a] 8 (p. 380).

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τούτου αὐτοῖς ἐγκαλέσαντος, οὔτε μέτριόν τι τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀπεκρίναντο καὶ ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτοῖς ἀποπλεύσασι· καὶ εἰ μὴ πνεῦμα τυχαίως συμβὰν αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθησεν, ἀπώλοντο ἄν. ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ψήφου τῆς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης κομισθείσης οὐκέτι αὐτὴν ἐποιήσατο. οἱ οὖν Καρχηδόνιοι τὸν μὲν Μάγωνα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνέπεμψαν, τὸν δ' Ἀννίβαν αὐτοκράτορα στρατηγὸν ἀπέδειξαν, τὸν Ἄννωνα τῆς ἀρχῆς παύσαντες. τὸν δ' Ἀσδρούβαν καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι ἐψηφίσαντο, φαρμάκῳ δὲ ἑκουσίως φθαρέντα καὶ νεκρὸν ᾐκίσαντο. Ἀννίβας μὲν οὖν πᾶσαν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν λαβὼν ἐς τὴν Μασινίσσου χώραν ἐνέβαλε καὶ ἐκάκου αὐτὴν καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις μαχέσασθαι ἡτοιμάζετο· ἀνθητοιμάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος.

14. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μετεμέλοντο ὅτι μὴ ἐκώλυσαν τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκπλεῦσαι· ὡς μέντοι τὰ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ συγκροτοῦντα αὐτὸν ἔμαθον, οὐ μετρίως αὖθις ἐδεδίεσαν. διὸ καὶ Κλαύδιον μὲν Νέρωνα τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔπεμ-

[1] ἑάλωσαν Bs., ἥλωσαν Mss.

a complaint, they returned no respectful answer to his envoys and moreover actually plotted against them when they sailed back; and had not a wind by chance sprung up and aided them, they would have been captured or would have perished. Consequently Scipio, although the commissioners arrived with peace for the Carthaginians at this juncture, refused any longer to make it.

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this, they returned no proper answer to the envoys, and even plotted against them when they sailed back; and had not a wind fortunately arisen to help them, they would have perished. Hence Scipio, though at this time the decree regarding peace was brought to him, refused any longer to make it. So the Carthaginians sent Mago back to Italy, but appointed Hannibal general with full powers, after first deposing Hanno from his command. Hasdrubal they even voted to put to death, and finding that he had voluntarily made away with himself by poison, they abused his dead body. Hannibal, accordingly, taking over entire command, invaded the country of Masinissa, which he proceeded to devastate, and was preparing to fight against the Romans. Counter-preparations were being made by the followers of Scipio.

14. The people of Rome were regretting that they had not prevented Hannibal from sailing home, and when they learned that he was consolidating the opposition in Africa, they were again greatly terrified. Accordingly, they sent Claudius Nero, one of the B.C. 202

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ψαν, Μάρκῳ δὲ Σερουιλίῳ τὴν τῆς Ἰταλίας φυλακὴν προσεκλήρωσαν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠδυνήθη ὁ Νέρων εἰς τὴν Λιβύην ἐλθεῖν, ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ χρονίσας καὶ ἐν Σαρδοῖ. εἶτα οὐδὲ περαιτέρω τῆς Σικελίας ἐχώρησε, κεκρατηκότα μαθὼν τὸν Σκιπίωνα. ὁ γὰρ Σκιπίων, δείσας μὴ ἐπειχθεὶς ὁ Νέρων τῶν αὐτοῦ πόνων τὴν εὔκλειαν σφετερίσηται, τοῦ ἔαρος ἐπιλάμψαντος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐχώρησε, μαθὼν ὅτι τὸν Μασινίσσαν ἐνίκησε. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ὡς ᾔσθετο προσιόντα τὸν Σκιπίωνα, προαπήντησεν αὐτῷ. καὶ ἀντιστρατοπεδευσάμενοι οὐκ εὐθὺς εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον, συχνὰς δ' ἡμέρας διέτριψαν, καὶ ἕκαστος τῷ οἰκείῳ διειλέχθη στρατεύματι καὶ πρὸς τὴν μάχην αὐτὸ παρεθάρρυνεν.

Ὡς δ' ἔδοξε τῷ Σκιπίωνι μὴ διατρίβειν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄκοντα τὸν Ἀννίβαν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα προαγαγεῖν, ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐτικὴν ὥρμησεν, ἵνα δεδιέναι καὶ φεύγειν δόξας σχοίη καιρὸν ἐπιθέσεως· ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ Ἀννίβας φεύγειν αὐτὸν οἰηθεὶς καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐντεῦθεν θαρσήσας ἐπεδίωξε μόνοις τοῖς ἱππεῦσι. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἀντέστη τε αὐτοῖς παρὰ δόξαν καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησε. τρέψας δ' αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ διώκειν σφᾶς, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα αὐτῶν καθ' ὁδὸν τυγχάνοντα ὥρμησε, καὶ πάντα συνέλαβε. ταῦτα τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐτάραξε, καὶ ἔτι ὅτι κατασκόπους αὐτοῦ τρεῖς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὁ Σκιπίων εὑρὼν οὐδὲν δεινὸν αὐτοῖς πεποίηκεν. μαθὼν γὰρ παρ' ἑνὸς αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας τὸ πεπραγμένον (οἱ γὰρ δύο παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις

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consuls, against him, and allotted to Marcus Servilius the protection of Italy. Nero, however, was unable to reach Africa, being detained by stormy weather in Italy and again in Sardinia. After that he progressed no farther than Sicily, for he learned that Scipio had proved the victor. Scipio, in fact, had been afraid that Nero might be so prompt as to appropriate the glory of his own toils, and so at the first glimmer of spring, he had advanced against Hannibal, having learned that the latter had conquered Masinissa. And Hannibal, when he found out that Scipio was approaching, went to meet him. They encamped opposite each other, though they did not at once come to blows, but delayed several days; and each commander addressed his army, inciting it to battle.

When it seemed best to Scipio not to delay any longer, but to draw Hannibal into a struggle whether he wished it or not, he set out for Utica, that by creating an impression of fear and flight he might gain a favourable opportunity for attack; and thus it turned out. Hannibal, thinking that he was in flight, and being correspondingly encouraged, pursued him with his cavalry only. Contrary to his expectations Scipio resisted, engaged in battle, and came out victorious. After routing this body he then directed his attention not to pursuing them, but to their equipment train, which was on the march, and he captured it entire. This caused Hannibal alarm, and his alarm was increased by the news that Scipio had done no injury to three Carthaginian spies whom he had found in his camp. Hannibal had learned this fact from one of them, after the other two had chosen to remain with the

80[b] Ἐνθυμιζόμενοι, λογιζόμενοι. οὕτω Δίων ἐν ιζ' Ῥωμαϊκῶν.—Suidas, Lex. Seguer., and Zon. Lex. *s.v.* ἐνθυμιζόμενοι.

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μεῖναι ἠθέλησαν), κατεπλάγη, καὶ διακινδυνεῦσαι οὐκέτι θαρρήσας σπείσασθαι ὅτι τάχιστα ἔγνω, ἵν' εἰ μὴ τοῦτο συμβαίη, τριβὴν τέως τινὰ πορίσηται καὶ διακωχήν. πέμψας οὖν πρὸς τὸν Μασινίσσαν, δι' ἐκείνου ὡς ὁμοφύλου τὰς σπονδὰς ᾔτησε. καὶ ἦλθε μὲν ἐς λόγους τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ἔπραξε δὲ οὐδέν. ὁ γὰρ Σκιπίων οὔτε τραχὺ οὔτε τι σαφὲς ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἐμέσευσεν, ἐπιεικέστερον δ' ὅμως διειλέχθη, ὅπως αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ σπεισόμενος εἰς ἀμέλειαν προαγάγῃ· ὃ καὶ συμβέβηκε. μάχης μὲν γὰρ πέρι οὐδὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐνενόησε, μεταστρατοπεδεύσασθαι δὲ εἰς χωρίον ἐπιτηδειότερόν τι ἠθέλησεν. ἐξ αὐτομόλων δὲ τοῦτο μαθὼν ὁ Σκιπίων προεξανέστη νυκτὸς καὶ κατέσχε τὸν τόπον εἰς ὃν ἐκεῖνος ἠπείγετο· ἐν χωρίῳ δέ τινι κοίλῳ καὶ ἀνεπιτηδείῳ πρὸς στρατοπέδευσιν γενομένοις τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπεφάνη αἰφνίδιον. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας συμβαλεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησε, στρατοπεδευόμενος δ' ἐκεῖ καὶ φρεωρυχῶν ἐταλαιπώρησε διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτός. καὶ οὕτως κακῶς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας ὑπὸ καμάτου καὶ δίψης κατηνάγκασε καὶ ἄκοντας ὁ Σκιπίων συμμῖξαι αὐτῷ.

Συνέβαλον οὖν οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι συντεταγμένοι καὶ πρόθυμοι, Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι

ἐνθυμιζόμενοι = calculating. So Dio, *Roman History*, XVII.[1]

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Romans. Disheartened, therefore, he no longer felt the courage to carry on a decisive engagement with the Romans, but determined to make efforts for a truce as quickly as possible, in order that even if this attempt should not be successful, it might at least cause a temporary delay and cessation of hostilities. So he sent to Masinissa, and through him, as a man of the same race, asked for a truce. And he secured a conference with Scipio, but accomplished nothing. For Scipio avoided a definite answer as well as a harsh one, but pursued a middle course throughout, although adopting a particularly mild tone, in order to lead Hannibal into careless behaviour by pretending a willingness to come to terms. And such was the result. For Hannibal now gave no thought to battle, but was desirous of shifting his camp to a more favourable place. Scipio, gaining this information from deserters, broke camp by night and occupied the spot which was the goal of Hannibal's efforts. And when the Carthaginians had reached a valley unsuited for a camping place, he suddenly confronted them. Hannibal refused to fight, but in his efforts to pitch camp there and to dig wells he had a hard time of it all night long. Thus Scipio forced the enemy, while at a disadvantage from weariness and thirst, to offer battle in spite of themselves.

Accordingly, the Romans entered the conflict well marshalled and eager, but Hannibal and the Cartha-

[1] This may be from his account of the feelings of the contestants on the eve of the battle of Zama; so von Gutschmid.

78 *Δίων βιβλίῳ ιζ' "ἐπέστησεν ἐξαίφνης τοῦ δρόμου."*—Bekk. Anecd. p. 140, 23.

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ἀπρόθυμοί τε καὶ καταπεπληγμένοι καὶ δι' ἕτερα καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἥλιος σύμπας ἐξέλιπεν. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ αἴσιόν τι προμηνύειν σφίσιν ὁ Ἀννίβας ὑπώπτευσεν. οὕτω δ' ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἑαυτῶν προεβάλοντο. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μέγα ἐξαίφνης καὶ ἐκπληκτικὸν ἀνεβόησαν, καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τοῖς δόρασι κρούσαντες θυμῷ καὶ δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ὥρμησαν. ὑφ' ὧν ταραχθέντες ἐκεῖνοι οἱ μὲν πλείους οὐκ ἐδέξαντο σφᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀπετράποντο καὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι μείζω τοῖς ἐπιτεταγμένοις ἐνεποίουν τὸν θόρυβον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὁμόσε σφίσι χωρήσαντες, τῶν Ῥωμαίων διισταμένων, διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν διεξέτρεχον, καὶ παριόντες ἐβάλλοντό τε καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς ἐτιτρώσκοντο. καὶ ἐπί τινα μὲν χρόνον ἀντέσχον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἔπειτα τοῦ Μασινίσσου καὶ τοῦ Λαιλίου τοῖς ἱππεῦσι κατὰ νώτου προσπεσόντων αὐτοῖς, πάντες ἔφυγον. οἱ δὲ πλείους ἐφθάρησαν, καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας μικροῦ ἂν ἀπώλετο. φεύγοντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ Μασινίσσας ἐπεδίωκεν ἀκρατῶς τῇ τοῦ ἵππου ῥύμῃ ὑπενδιδούς. μεταστραφεὶς δ' ὁ Ἀννίβας, καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν οὕτω διώκοντα, ἠρέμα ἐξέκλινε καὶ τὸν δρόμον ἐπέστησε, καὶ οὕτω παρελάσαντα τὸν Μασινίσσαν κατὰ νώτου γενόμενος ἔτρωσε· κἀκ τούτου μετ' ὀλίγων ἐξέφυγε.

BOOK XVII

Dio, Book XVII. "He suddenly checked his course."

Zonaras 9, 14.

ginians listless and dejected. This was owing in part to a total eclipse of the sun; for in view of the other circumstances, Hannibal suspected that this, too, augured nothing auspicious for them. In this frame of mind they stationed the elephants in front of them as a protection. Suddenly the Romans uttered a great and terrible shout, and smiting their spears against their shields, rushed furiously against the elephants. Thrown into a panic by their charge, most of the beasts did not await their coming, but turned to flight, and receiving frequent wounds caused still greater confusion among those stationed beside them. But some of the beasts charged the Romans, whereupon the latter would stand apart so that they ran through the spaces between the ranks, getting struck with missiles and wounded from close at hand as they passed along. For a time the Carthaginians resisted, but at length, when Masinissa and Laelius fell upon them from the rear with the horsemen, they all fled. The majority of them were destroyed, and Hannibal came very near losing his life. For as he fled, Masinissa pursued him at breakneck speed, giving his horse a free rein. But Hannibal turned, and seeing him thus pursuing, swerved aside slightly and checked his course; thus Masinissa rushed by, and Hannibal got in his rear and wounded him. Thus he made his escape with a few followers.

79 Δίων ἐν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ιζ' "πέφυκε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ὡς πλήθει τὸ μὲν εὐτυχοῦν θρασύνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ κακοπραγοῦν μετριάζειν, κἀκ τούτου τὸ μὲν δεδιὸς σωφρονεῖν, τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν ἀκολασταίνειν. ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τοῦτ' ἐφωράθη."—Suidas *s.v.* ὡς ἐπίπαν, Lex. Seguer. (Bachm. Anecd. Graec. 1, 422.)

80 Δίων ἐν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ιζ' "καί τις λόγος περὶ αὐτῶν[1] τοιόσδε ἐδημώθη."—Suidas, Etym. Mag., and Lex. Seguer. *s.v.* ἐδημώθη.

82 Ὅτι διεκηρυκεύσαντο οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ἦν δὲ τὰ διωμολογημένα ὁμήρους τέ σφας δοῦναι, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τούς τε αὐτομόλους οὓς ἤτοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ τῶν συμμάχων σφῶν[2] εἶχον ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας πάντας καὶ τὰς τριήρεις πλὴν δέκα παραδοῦναι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν

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Σκιπίων δὲ νικήσας ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἠπείχθη, καὶ ἐπολιόρκει αὐτὴν ἐκ γῆς ἅμα καὶ θαλάσσης. οἱ δ' οὖν Καρχηδόνιοι πρῶτον μὲν ὡς τὴν πολιορκίαν καρτερήσοντες ἡτοιμάζοντο, ἔπειτα ἐξαπορηθέντες πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα διεκηρυκεύσαντο. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων τοὺς λόγους σφῶν προσεδέξατο καὶ περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν διειλέχθη αὐτοῖς. ἦν δὲ τὰ ὡμολογημένα ὁμήρους τε παρὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους δοθῆναι, καὶ πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, τὰς δὲ τριήρεις πλὴν δέκα παρασχεθῆναι,

[1] αὐτῶν Suidas, Cramer's Ms., αὐτοῦ Bachmann's Ms.
[2] σφῶν Bs., ἐφ' ὧν Mss.

Dio, *Roman History*, XVII. "Moreover, in general, the fortunate party is inclined to audacity and the unfortunate to moderation; and accordingly the timid party is wont to show restraint and the bold to show license. This was particularly noticeable in his case."[1]

Dio, *Roman History*, XVII. "And a report about them of the following nature became public."[1]

The Carthaginians made overtures for peace to Scipio. The terms agreed upon were: that they should give hostages, should return the captives and deserters they were holding, whether Romans or their allies, should surrender all the elephants and the triremes, except ten, and for the future possess B.C. 201

Zonaras 9, 14.

Scipio after his victory advanced rapidly against Carthage, and proceeded to besiege it by land and sea at once. The Carthaginians at first set themselves in readiness as though to endure the siege, but later, brought to the end of their resources, they made overtures to Scipio for peace. Scipio accepted their proposals and discussed with them the articles of the compact. The terms agreed upon were: that hostages and the captives and the deserters should be given up by the Carthaginians, that all the elephants and the triremes, except ten, should be B.C. 201

[1] These fragments are of uncertain reference; the former may possibly relate to Masinissa's marrying Sophonisba without Scipio's permission.

μὴ κεκτῆσθαι μήτε ἐλέφαντας μήτε ναῦς, καὶ τῷ Μασινίσσᾳ πάντων ὧν εἶχον αὐτοῦ ἀποστῆναι καὶ ἐκείνῳ δοῦναι, τήν τε χώραν καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ αὐτοῦ οὔσας ἀφεῖναι, καὶ μήτε καταλόγους ποιεῖσθαι μήτε μισθοφόροις χρῆσθαι μήτε πόλεμον πρὸς μηδένα παρὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γνώμην ἀναιρεῖσθαι.—U[a] 9 (p. 380) and (in part) Suidas *s.v.* ἀναιρεθείς.

59 Ὅτι ἡ Καρχηδὼν πολλοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐξαιρετέα ἐδόκει εἶναι, καὶ Κορνηλίῳ ὑπάτῳ, καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστι συνεστώσης αὐτῆς ἀδεεῖς σφᾶς εἶναι.—U[a] 10 (p. 381) = Suidas *s.v.* ἐξαιρετέα.

57, 83 . . ἐν[1] μέντοι τῷ δήμῳ . . . πάντες τὴν εἰρήνην ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐψηφίσαντο. ἃ γὰρ ἐπεπόνθεσαν λογισάμενοι . . . αὐτῶν ἤμελλον π . . . κινδύνων

Zonaras 9, 14.

καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μήτε ἐλέφαντας μήτε ναῦς μακρὰς πλείους ἔχειν τῶν δέκα μήτε πόλεμον παρὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γνώμην πρὸς μηδένα ποιεῖσθαι, καί τινα ἕτερα.

Τοιούτων δὲ γενομένων τῶν ὁμολογιῶν πρέσβεις οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἐστάλκασι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπῆλθον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἡ γερουσία τὴν πρεσβείαν ἑτοίμως ἐδέξατο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πολὺ ἠμφισβήτησαν ἀλλήλοις ἐναντιούμενοι. ὁ δὲ δῆμος τὴν εἰρήνην ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐψηφίσατο, καὶ

[1] The only continuous portions of the following four fragments have been largely supplied by Haase, Bs., and others. Cf. note on p. 238. The longer gaps, indicated here by three

neither elephants nor ships, should withdraw from all the possessions of Masinissa that they were holding and give them up to him, and restore to him the country and the cities that were in his domain, that they should not hold levies, nor employ mercenaries, nor undertake war against anyone without the consent of the Romans.

It seemed to Cornelius [Lentulus], the consul, as well as to many other Romans, that Carthage ought to be destroyed, and he was wont to say that it was impossible, while that city existed, for them to be free from fear.

In the popular assembly, however, . . . all unanimously voted for peace. For after considering what they had gone through with . . . were going

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Zonaras 9, 14.

delivered over, and that in the future they should not keep elephants nor more ships of war than ten, nor make war upon anyone without the consent of the Romans, and a few other points.

When an agreement of this nature had been reached, the Carthaginians sent ambassadors to Rome. So these went their way, but the senate did not receive the embassy readily; indeed, the members disputed for a long time, being disagreed among themselves. The popular assembly, however, unanimously voted for peace and accepted the terms;

dots, are usually from 24 to 31 letters in length, the shorter gaps from 1 to 4 letters.

τε ταλ . . . τῶν πραγμάτων . . . ἐδικαίωσαν· ὁ . . . τες καὶ ἐκεῖνα . . . τ . ἐκ μεγάλων . . . α . α ε . ν οι δὲ ὁ . . . ντες ἐπτ. .

84 Καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ μὲν πλείους ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπήχθησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῷ Μασινίσσᾳ
85 ἐδωρήθησαν . . . Καρχηδονίων . . . τε τὴν Λιβύην . . . δὲ δὴ πρεσβεύ . . . συμβαλεῖν τοῖς . . . ἐπέτρεψαν· καὶ ὠ . . . λησαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι . . . μετὰ τὴν σύμβασιν . . . τήν τε φιλίαν κ . . . βαίωσαν· καὶ τ . . . νην ἐχαρίσαντο . . .

86 . . αἰχμαλώτους . . . ε Τερέντιος εἷς . . . βουλῆς ὢν πιλίον . . . καὶ ὥς τινα . . . ἀκολουθῆσαι. Σκιπίων μὲν οὖν μέγας ἐκ τούτων ᾔρετο, Ἀννίβας

Zonaras 9, 14.

τὰς ὁμολογίας ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ἔπεμψαν δέκα ἄνδρας, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἅπαντα διοικήσωσι. καὶ αἱ συμβάσεις ἐπράχθησαν, καὶ αἱ τριήρεις ἐδόθησαν καὶ ἐκαύθησαν, καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ μὲν πλείους εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπήχθησαν, τῷ Μασινίσσᾳ δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐδωρήθησαν. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν τὴν Λιβύην ἐξέλιπον, τὴν δ' Ἰταλίαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν δεύτερος πόλεμος τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἔτει ἑκκαιδεκάτῳ ἐς τοῦτο κατήντησε· κἀντεῦθεν ὁ Σκιπίων λελάμπρυστο καὶ Ἀφρικανὸς ἐπεκέκλητο· Ἀφρικὴ γὰρ ἤδε ἡ περὶ Καρχηδόνα Λιβύη ὠνόμαστο· πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερωτὴς προσηγόρευτο, πολλοὺς πολίτας κομίσας αἰχμαλώτους. καὶ ὁ μὲν μέγας ἐκ τούτων ᾔρετο,

to . . . dangers and other . . . affairs . . . punished; . . . and those . . . from great . . .

And of the elephants the larger number were carried off to Rome, and the rest were presented to Masinissa . . . of Carthaginians . . . and Africa . . . embas . . . engage with the . . . permitted; and . . . Scipio . . . after the treaty . . . and friendship . . . established; and . . . favoured . . .

. . . captives . . . Terentius one . . . being of the senate, . . cap . . . and thus one . . . to follow. Scipio, accordingly, attained great prominence by these deeds, but Hannibal was even brought to

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Zonaras 9, 14.

and they sent ten men to settle all the details in conjunction with Scipio. So the treaty was made, the triremes were given up and burned, and of the elephants the larger number were carried off to Rome, while the rest were presented to Masinissa. The Romans now left Africa, and the Carthaginians Italy.

The second war, then, with the Carthaginians resulted in this way at the end of sixteen years. By it Scipio had been made illustrious, and he was given the title of Africanus (Africa was the name of that part of Libya surrounding Carthage), and many also called him Liberator because he had brought back many captive citizens. He, then, attained great prominence by these deeds; but Hannibal

δὲ καὶ ἐς δίκην παρὰ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἤχθη, καὶ ὡς τήν τε Ῥώμην δυνηθεὶς λαβεῖν καὶ μὴ ἐθελήσας καὶ τὴν λείαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας σφετερισάμενος κατηγορήθη. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἑάλω, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐπετράπη . . τα μὲν ἐπί τε . . . ν ὑπάτων γε . . . τῇ Σικελίᾳ βε . .

76 . . νῳ Μᾶρκος . . . πον πεμφθεὶς . . . ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν . . . παρ' αὐτῶν ἠ . . . ώρθωσε πρεσ . . . ην τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ . . . τέ τινα ὃν αὐτὸς . . . Καρχηδονίοις ἐπεπόμφει . . . υτος οὐδὲν εἰρη . . . ν κεκρατηκότες . . . πολέμους τῷ μὲν . . . ε δὴ δόξῃ οὐδὲν σμι . . κροτέρους κατέστησαν.—P. 3 (p. 462 sq.).

Zonaras 9, 14–15.

Ἀννίβας δὲ κατηγόρητο παρὰ τοῖς οἰκείοις ὡς τήν τε Ῥώμην λαβεῖν δυνηθεὶς καὶ μὴ θελήσας καὶ τὴν λείαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας σφετερισάμενος. οὐ μὴν καὶ ἑάλω, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀρχὴν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπετράπη.

15. Εἰς ἑτέρους δ' αὖθις πολέμους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν, γενομένους πρός Φίλιππόν τε τὸν Μακεδόνα καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον.

trial by his own people; he was accused of having refused to capture Rome when he was able to do so, and of having appropriated the plunder from Italy. He was not, however, convicted, but was shortly afterward entrusted with the highest office in Carthage. . . .

. . . Marcus . . . sent . . . by the generals . . . from them . . . was successful (?); embassy . . . of Philip and . . . and a certain one whom he himself . . . had sent to the Carthaginians . . . not at all peace . . . having vanquished . . . wars in . . . no less in reputation . . . rendered [them] more. . .

Zonaras 9, 14–15.

was accused by his own people of having refused to capture Rome when he was able to do so, and of having appropriated the plunder from Italy. He was not, however, convicted, but was shortly afterward entrusted with the highest office in Carthage.

15. The Romans now became involved in other wars, which were waged against Philip the Macedonian and against Antiochus.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XVIII

Zonaras 9, 15.

Μέχρι γὰρ ἡ πρὸς Καρχηδονίους ἤκμαζε μάχη, κἂν μὴ φίλια σφίσι τὰ περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἦν, ἐθεράπευον αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις συνάροιτο ἢ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν στρατεύσοιτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ κατ᾽ ἐκείνους ἠρέμησαν, οὐκέτ᾽ ἐμέλλησαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐς πόλεμον αὐτῷ κατέστησαν φανερόν, πολλὰ ἐγκαλοῦντες αὐτῷ. πρέσβεις οὖν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς αὐτὸν πέμψαντες, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ὧν ἐπετάττετο ἔπραττε, τὸν πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο, χρώμενοι μὲν τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιβασίᾳ λαβῇ, τὸ δ᾽ ἀληθὲς ἀγανακτοῦντες ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐδεδράκει, καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντες αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ καταδουλωσάμενος ἐκείνους ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν στρατεύσῃ κατὰ τὸν Πύρρον. ψηφισάμενοι δὲ τὸν πόλεμον τά τε ἄλλα παρεσκευάσαντο εὖ καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ Λούκιον Ἀπούστιον Σουλπικίῳ Γάλβᾳ δεδώκασι. καὶ ὁ Γάλβας τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον διαβαλὼν[1] ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐνόσησε. παραλαβόντες οὖν τὴν δύναμιν πᾶσαν ὅ τε ῥηθεὶς στρατηγὸς καὶ Κλαύδιος Κέντων ὁ ὑποστράτηγος, αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ ναυτικῷ τὰς Ἀθήνας ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων πολιορκουμένας ἐρρύσατο καὶ Χαλκίδα κατεχομένην ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπόρθησε, κἂν τούτῳ Φιλίππου ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐπιστρατεύσαντος ἐπανελθὼν τότε αὐτὸν ἀπεώσατο καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αὖθις προσβα-

[1] διαβαλὼν Haase, διαλαβὼν Mss.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XVIII

Zonaras 9, 15.

As long as the struggle with the Carthaginians was at its height, they treated Philip with consideration, even though his attitude toward them was not one of friendliness; for they wished to prevent him from combining with the Carthaginians or making an expedition into Italy. But as soon as they were at peace with Carthage, they no longer hesitated, but embarked upon open warfare with him, charging him with many injuries. Accordingly, they sent envoys to him, and when he complied with none of their demands, declared war. They took as a B.C. 200 pretext his attack upon the Greeks, but their real reason was irritation at his general behaviour and a determination to forestall him, so that he should not be able to enslave Greece and make an expedition against Italy after the manner of Pyrrhus. And having declared war, they not only made thorough preparations in other respects, but also associated with Sulpicius Galba Lucius Apustius as admiral of the fleet. Now Galba after crossing the Ionian Gulf was sick for some time; and accordingly the admiral just mentioned and the lieutenant, Claudius Cento, took charge of the whole force. Cento with the aid of the fleet rescued Athens, which was being besieged by the Macedonians, and sacked Chalcis, which was occupied by the same enemy. Meanwhile Philip marched against Athens, but Cento, returning, drove him back for the time being, and also repulsed him again on the occasion of a subse-

58 . . . [1] καὶ διέτριψαν συχνὰς ἡμέρας, ἐς μὲν παράταξιν μὴ συνιόντες, ἀκροβολισμοῖς δέ τισι καὶ πείραις τῶν τε ψιλῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων

Zonaras 9, 15.

λόντα ἀπεκρούσατο, Ἀπούστιος δ' ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, ἀσχόλου περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῦ Φιλίππου ὄντος, ἐμβαλὼν τήν τε γῆν ἐληίζετο καὶ φρούρια καὶ πόλεις ἐχειρώσατο. Φίλιππος δὲ διὰ ταῦτα ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ γενόμενος τέως μὲν ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιέθει ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις ἀμύνων, ὡς δὲ ὁ Ἀπούστιος τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτοῦ ἰσχυρῶς ἐνέκειτο καὶ οἱ Δάρδανοι τὴν πρόσορον σφίσι Μακεδονίαν ἐκακούργουν (οἰκοῦσι δ' οὗτοι ὑπέρ τε Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ Μακεδόνων) Ἰλλυριοί τέ τινες καὶ Ἀμύνανδρος Ἀθαμανίας Θεσσαλικοῦ γένους βασιλεὺς ὤν, σύμμαχοι πρότερον ὄντες αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μετέστησαν, ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ὑπώπτευσε καὶ περὶ τοῖς οἴκοι ἔδεισε καὶ ἐκεῖ μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος στρατεύματος ἔσπευσε. γνοὺς δὲ τὴν πρόσοδον αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀπούστιος ἀνεχώρησεν· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ χειμὼν ἦν.

Ῥαΐσας δ' ἐκ τῆς νόσου ὁ Γάλβας πλείω παρεσκευάσατο δύναμιν καὶ ἅμα ἔαρι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἠπείγετο. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπλησίασαν ἀλλήλοις, ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσαντο, καὶ ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἐχρῶντο τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν. μεταστάντων δὲ

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 1128.

Ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς Δαρδανίους ἔθνος εὗρον οἰκοῦντας ὑπέρ τε Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Μακεδόνων.

[1] Cf. note on p. 270. §§ 1–4 and 5 are practically complete in the Ms., so that there is little doubt regarding the

. . . And they delayed for several days, not meeting in battle array, but engaging in skirmishes and encounters with the light-armed troops and the

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Zonaras 9, 15.

quent assault. Apustius, while Philip was busy with Greece, had invaded Macedonia, and was plundering the country as well as subduing garrisons and cities. For these reasons Philip was at his wit's end, and for a time rushed about hither and thither, defending now one place and now another. This he did until his own country came to be severely harried by Apustius, and the Dardanians, who dwell above the Illyrians and the Macedonians, were injuring the part of Macedonia close to their borders, and some Illyrians, together with Amynander, king of the Athamanians, a Thessalian tribe, though they had previously been his allies, now transferred themselves to the Roman side. In view of all this he became suspicious of the loyalty of the Aetolians and feared for his interests at home, and he hastened thither with the larger part of his army. Apustius, apprised of his approach, retired; for by this time it was winter.

Galba, on recovering from his illness, made ready a still larger force and at the beginning of spring hastened into Macedonia. When the two leaders drew near together they pitched camp opposite each other and engaged in skirmishes with the cavalry

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 1128.

I found the Dardanians to be a race dwelling above the Illyrians and Macedonians.

text. In § 6 some of the letters and words supplied by Bs. are here omitted.

χρώμενοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ἠπείγοντο ὅτι τάχιστα συμβαλεῖν· τῇ τε γὰρ δυνάμει ἔρρωντο καὶ τροφὴν οὐ πολλὴν εἶχον, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πολλάκις καὶ πρὸς τὸ χαράκωμά σφων προσέ-
2 μισγον· ὁ δὲ δὴ Φίλιππος τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις ἀσθενέστερος ὤν, τῇ δὲ παρασκευῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων διὰ τὸ τὴν οἰκείαν οἱ ἐγγὺς εἶναι προφέρων ἀνεῖχεν, ἐκτρυχώσειν αὐτοὺς ἀμαχεὶ προσδοκήσας. καὶ εἴπερ ἐκεκρατήκει τῆς γνώμης, πάντως ἄν τι ἐξείργαστο· νῦν δὲ καταφρονήσας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὡς φοβουμένων αὐτόν, ὅτι πρὸς χωρίον τι ὅθεν ἐπισιτίσασθαί σφισι λῷον ἦν μετέστησαν, ἐπῆλθέ τε αὐτοῖς ἁρπαγὰς ποιουμένοις ἀπροσδόκητος
3 καί τινας καὶ διέφθειρεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Γάλβας ἐπεξέδραμεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ προσπεσὼν αὐτῷ μὴ προσδεχομένῳ πολλῷ πλείους ἀνταπέκτεινεν. ἡττηθείς τε καὶ προσέτι καὶ τρωθεὶς οὐκέτι κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἡμέρας τινὰς πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν καὶ ταφὴν δὴ τῶν

Zonaras 9, 15.

τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔς τι χωρίον ὅθεν ῥᾷον ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐπισιτίσασθαι, νομίσας ὁ Φίλιππος ὡς φοβουμένους αὐτὸν μεταστῆναι, ἐπῆλθεν αὐτοῖς ποιουμένοις ἁρπαγὰς ἀπροσδόκητος καί τινας διέφθειρε. καὶ ὁ Γάλβας τοῦτο αἰσθομενος ἐπεξέδραμεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ προσπεσὼν αὐτῷ πολλῷ πλείους ἀνταπέκτεινεν. ὁ δέ γε Φίλιππος ἡττηθεὶς

cavalry. The Romans, for their part, were eager to join battle with all speed; for their force was a strong one and they had few provisions, and consequently they would often advance even to the foe's palisade. Philip, on the other hand, was weaker in point of armed followers, but his supply of provisions was better than theirs because his own country was close by; so he waited, expecting to wear them out without a conflict, and if he had possessed self-control, he certainly would have accomplished something. As it was, he became contemptuous of the Romans, thinking that they feared him, because they had transferred their camp to a certain place from which they could get food more readily; he thereupon attacked them unexpectedly while they were engaged in plundering and managed to kill a few. On perceiving this, Galba made a sortie from the camp, attacked him while off his guard and slew many more in his turn. Philip, defeated and also wounded, no longer held his ground, but after arranging a truce

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Zonaras 9, 15.

and light-armed troops. But when the Romans transferred their camp to a certain place from which they could get food more easily, Philip thought they had shifted their position out of fear of him; therefore he attacked them unexpectedly while they were engaged in plundering and killed a few of them. Galba, on perceiving this, made a sortie from the camp, attacked him and slew many more in his turn. Philip, then, defeated and wounded, withdrew at

νεκρῶν σπεισάμενος ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην νύκτα
4 ἀπανέστη. οὐ μέντοι ὁ Γάλβας ἐπεδίωξεν αὐτόν·
τῇ τε γὰρ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν τροφῶν καὶ τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ
τῶν χωρίων, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον καὶ τῇ ἀγνωσίᾳ
τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ δέει μὴ ἀπερισκέπτως
ποι προχωρῶν σφαλῇ, οὐκ ἠθέλησε περαιτέρω
προχωρῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἀνεκομί-
σθησαν. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Ἀπούστιος μετὰ τῶν
Ῥοδίων καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀττάλου περιπλέων συχνὰς
μὲν νήσους ἐχειρώσατο . . . (four or five lines
wanting in Ms.)
5 . . . οἱ Ἴνσουμβροι ἐταράχθησαν· Ἀμίλκας
γάρ τις Καρχηδόνιος τῷ τε Μάγωνι συστρατεύσας
καὶ ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκείνοις ὑπομείνας τέως μὲν
ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ἀγαπῶν εἰ διαλάθοι, ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ
Μακεδονικὸς πόλεμος ἐνέστη, τούς τε Γαλάτας
ἀπέστησε τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ

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καὶ τρωθεὶς ὑπὸ νύκτα ἀπανέστη. οὐ μέντοι αὐτὸν ὁ Γάλβας ἐπεδίωξεν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἀνεκομίσθη. καὶ Ἀπούστιος δὲ μετὰ τῶν Ῥοδίων καὶ τοῦ Ἀττάλου περιπλέων νήσους συχνὰς ἐχειρώσατο.

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καί τις Ἀμίλκας Καρχηδόνιος, τῷ Μάγωνι συστρατεύσας ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κἀκεῖ ὑπομείνας, τέως μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν, ὡς δ' ὁ Μακεδονικὸς πόλεμος ἐνέστη, τούς τε Γαλάτας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπέστησε καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ

of some days, ostensibly for the taking up and burial of the dead, he withdrew on the very first night. Galba, however, did not follow him up; for being short of provisions, ignorant of the country, and in particular not knowing his adversary's strength, he feared that if he advanced incautiously anywhere he might come to grief. For these reasons he was unwilling to proceed farther, but retired with his men to Apollonia. During this same time Apustius with the Rhodians and with Attalus cruised about and subjugated many of the islands . . .

. . . the Insubres were stirred up. Hamilcar, a Carthaginian, who had served with Mago and had remained unnoticed in those regions, had been keeping quiet for the time being, satisfied if only he might elude discovery; but as soon as the Macedonian war broke out, he caused the Gauls to revolt from the Romans. Then with the rebels he made an expedition

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Zonaras 9, 15.

nightfall. Galba, however, did not follow him up, but retired to Apollonia. Apustius with the Rhodians and with Attalus cruised about and subjugated many of the islands.

About the same time Hamilcar, a Carthaginian who had served with Mago in Italy and had remained there unnoticed, keeping quiet for the time being, caused the Gauls, as soon as the Macedonian war broke out, to revolt from the Romans; then with the rebels he made an expedition against the Ligu-

Λίγυας στρατεύσας καὶ ἐκείνων τινὰς προσεποιή-
6 σατο· μάχης δέ σφισι μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Λούκιον Φούριον στρατηγὸν γενομένης ἡττήθησαν καὶ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο σπονδῶν δεόμενοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λίγυες ἔτυχον αὐτῶν· . . . χ . . ν . . . ρ . σιν . . κ . σ . . δεινὸν μὲν . . η . συνε . ημ . δ . . ν . . . ἐκυρίευεν ε . . . ταις ἐπε . φακ εστ . . δ . γεω . . ν . . . οὐκ . . ε . . . ε . . υ . ες τὴν μν . μην· . . ιχθείο
57,81 . . . δι η . η . . . τῶν ἐπινικίων τυχεῖν ἠξίου· λόγων τε ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα πολλῶν γενομένων (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Αὐρηλίου κακοήθειαν συνεσπούδαζον αὐτῷ, καὶ τήν τε νίκην ἐμεγάλυνον καὶ παραδείγμασι πολλοῖς ἐχρῶντο· οἱ δὲ τῇ τε τοῦ ὑπάτου ἰσχύι ἠγωνίσθαι αὐτὸν ἔλεγον, μηδεμίαν ἰδίαν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα, καὶ προσέτι καὶ λόγον παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀπῄτουν ὅτι τὰ προσταχθέντα οὐκ ἐπεποιήκει) ὅμως ἔλαβεν αὐτά. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκεῖνα[1] πρὶν τὸν . . . ε . . θεσ . . ν[2] ἑώρτασεν.

Ὁ δὲ δὴ Οὐερμίνα . . . εστ . ε μὲν παρὰ τῶν . χ . .—P. 4 (pp. 464 sq.).

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Λίγυας στρατεύσας τινὰς κἀκείνων προσεποιήσατο. Λουκίῳ δὲ Φουρίῳ στρατηγοῦντι πολεμηθέντες ἡττήθησαν καὶ περὶ σπονδῶν ἐπρεσβεύσαντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λίγυες ἔτυχον αὐτῶν, τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ οὐκ ἐδόθησαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀντεστράτευσεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς Αὐρήλιος ὁ ὕπατος, φθονήσας τῆς νίκης τῷ στρατηγῷ.

[1] ἐκεῖνα Bs., ἐκεῖνο (?) Ms.
[2] πρὶν τὸν Αὐρήλιον ἐπανελθεῖν suggested by Bs.

against the Ligurians and won over some of them also; later they had a battle with the praetor Lucius Furius, were defeated, and sent envoys asking for peace. The Ligurians obtained this . . . . . he thought he ought to be granted a triumph, and many arguments were presented on both sides. Some, especially in view of the animosity shown by Aurelius, eagerly furthered his cause, magnifying his victory, and citing many precedents. Others declared he had contended with the consul's troops and had no independent authority of his own; and furthermore they even demanded an explanation from him for his failure to carry out his instructions. However, he won his triumph, which he celebrated before [Aurelius returned (?)].

Vermina . . . from the . . .

Zonaras 9, 15.

rians and won over some of them also. They fought with Lucius Furius the praetor, were defeated, and sent envoys regarding peace. The Ligurians obtained this, but it was not granted to the others. Instead, Aurelius the consul, who was jealous of the praetor's victory, conducted a retaliatory campaign against them.

Zonaras 9, 15–16.

Τῷ δ' ἑξῆς ἔτει πρὸς τοῦ Ἀμίλκα καὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν συνηνέχθη πολλὰ καὶ δεινά. Γναῖόν τε γὰρ Βαίβιον στρατηγὸν ἐνίκησαν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίδα τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατέτρεχον, καὶ Πλακεντίαν ἐπολιόρκουν καὶ ἑλόντες κατέσκαψαν.

16. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ Πούπλιος Οὐίλλιος[1] ὁ ὕπατος ἀντεκάθητο τῷ Φιλίππῳ, τὰ τῆς Ἠπείρου προκαταλαβόντι στενά, δι' ὧν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν εἰσὶν εἰσβολαί. μετὰ δὲ τὸν χειμῶνα Τίτος Φλαμίνιος ὕπατος, τοῦ Φιλίππου πᾶν τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν ὀρῶν διατειχίσαντος καὶ ὄντος δυσπολεμήτου, διά τινος ἐκπεριῆλθε στενῆς ἀτραποῦ μετ' ὀλίγων τὸ περιτείχισμα. καὶ φανεὶς ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων αἰφνίδιον ἐφόβησε τὸν Φίλιππον, νομίσαντα πᾶν τὸ τοῦ Τίτου στράτευμα εἴσω τῶν στενῶν παρελθεῖν· ὅθεν καὶ εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀπῆρεν εὐθύς. ὁ δ' ὕπατος ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐκ ἐδίωξε, τὰς δ' ἐν τῇ Ἠπείρῳ πόλεις προσεποιήσατο. καὶ ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ἐλθὼν πολλὰ παρεσπάσατο τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα τὴν Βοιωτίαν τε ἀνεχώρησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἐλάτειαν ἐπολιόρκει, Λούκιος δὲ Φλαμίνιος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀττάλου καὶ τῶν Ῥοδίων τὰς νήσους ἐχειροῦτο. καὶ τέλος Κεγχρειὰν ἑλόντες, καὶ πυθόμενοι πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ πεπέμφθαι, ἀπέστειλαν καὶ αὐτοί· καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι συνεπρεσβεύσαντο. καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἐμερίσθησαν αἱ γνῶμαι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, τῶν μὲν τῷ Φιλίππῳ τὴν συμμαχίαν ψηφιζομένων, τῶν δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ὀψὲ δ' οὖν ποτε τὴν βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν

[1] Οὐίλλιος Pinder, οὐιάλιος BCA, οὐάλιος c.

BOOK XVIII

Zonaras 9, 15–16.

The following year a great deal of havoc was caused by Hamilcar and the Gauls. They conquered the praetor Gnaeus Baebius, overran the territory which was in alliance with the Romans, besieged Placentia, and after capturing it razed it to the ground. B.C. 199

16. To return to the campaign in Greece and Macedonia—Publius Villius the consul was encamped opposite Philip, who had previously occupied the passes of Epirus, through which are the approaches to Macedonia. Philip had extended a wall across the entire mountain region in between and held a formidable position, but the consul Titus Flamininus[1] at the end of winter got around the wall with a few B.C. 198 followers by a narrow path. And appearing suddenly on higher ground, he terrified Philip, who thought that the whole army of Titus had got inside the pass. Hence he fell back into Macedonia at once. The consul did not pursue him, but won over the cities in Epirus. He also went into Thessaly and detached a good part of it from Philip, and then retired into Phocis and Boeotia. While he was besieging Elatea his brother Lucius Flamininus in company with Attalus and the Rhodians was subjugating the islands. Finally, after the capture of Cenchreae, they learned that envoys had been sent to the Achaeans to see about an alliance, and they despatched some themselves in turn, the Athenians also joining the embassy. And at first the opinions of the Achaeans were divided, some wishing to vote an alliance with Philip and some with the Romans; eventually, however, they voted assistance to the latter. And they joined in an

[1] Zonaras always writes Flaminius.

Zonaras 9, 16.

Κόρινθον συνεστράτευσαν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν τείχους κατήρειψάν τινα, πονήσαντες δ' ἐπεκδρομαῖς ἀπανέστησαν.

Εἶτα δείσας ὁ Φίλιππος μὴ πολλαὶ πόλεις ἁλῶσιν, ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο. καὶ ὃς ἐδέξατο τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνῆλθον αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι, ἐπράχθη δ' οὐδὲν ἢ ὅτι πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην πέμψαι τῷ Φιλίππῳ ἐπετράπη. καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖ τι ἐγένετο· τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἀποστῆναι αὐτὸν ἀξιούντων τῆς τε Κορίνθου καὶ τῆς Χαλκίδος τῆς τε Δημητριάδος τῆς Θεσσαλικῆς, οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων οἱ τοῦ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις ἐντετάλθαι ἔφασαν, καὶ ἄπρακτοι ἀπηλλάγησαν.

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῷ Φλαμινίῳ τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἡγεμονίαν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπιὸν ψηφισάμενοι ἔτος, αὐτῷ ἀνέθεντο καὶ τὰ κατὰ Φίλιππον. ὁ δέ, ὅτι κατὰ χώραν ἔμελλε μένειν, πρὸς πόλεμον ἡτοιμάζετο, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅτι καὶ Νάβις ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τύραννος ἐσπείσατό οἱ, καίτοι φίλος ὢν τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ τὸ Ἄργος λαβὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ. ἀδυνατῶν γὰρ ὁ Μακεδὼν πολλὰ διέπειν ὁμοῦ, καὶ δείσας μὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἡ πόλις ληφθῇ, τῷ Νάβιδι αὐτήν, ἵν' αὖθις ἀποδοίη, παρακατέθετο.

Αἰλίου δὲ Πέτου τοῦ ὑπάτου στρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ τοὺς Γαλάτας, πολλοὶ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀπώλλυντο προσμιγνύντες ἀλλήλοις, καίριον δέ τι ἐπράχθη οὐδέν. οἱ δ' ὅμηροι τῶν Καρχηδονίων οἵ τε δοῦλοι οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ οἵ τισι πεπραμένοι

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Zonaras 9, 16.

expedition against Corinth, where they succeeded in demolishing portions of the wall, but retired after losses suffered through sorties on the part of the citizens.

Then Philip, fearing that many cities might be taken, made overtures to the consul regarding peace. The latter accepted his proposals and they and their allies met together; but nothing was accomplished except that permission was granted Philip to send envoys to Rome. Nor was anything effected there either. For when the Greeks insisted that he depart from Corinth and Chalcis and from Demetrias in Thessaly, the envoys of Philip said they had received no instructions on this point; and they departed without accomplishing anything.

The people of Rome voted to Flamininus the command in Greece for another year and also committed to his charge the campaign against Philip. Accordingly, since he was to remain at his post, he set about preparing for war, the more readily because the Lacedemonian tyrant, Nabis, although a friend of Philip, from whom he had received Argos, had made peace with him. It was because Philip was unable to look after so many districts at once and because he feared the city might be seized by the Romans that he had entrusted Argos to Nabis, to be restored again.

In a campaign of the consul Aelius Paetus against the Gauls many perished on both sides in the conflicts, and no advantage was gained. Furthermore, the Carthaginian hostages, together with the slaves accompanying them and the captives who had been sold to various persons, had the hardihood to

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αἰχμάλωτοι, κατασχεῖν τὰς πόλεις ἐν αἷς ἕκαστοι τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιοῦντο τολμήσαντες, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων φονεύσαντες, καθῃρέθησαν ὑπὸ Κορνηλίου Λεντούλου στρατηγοῦ πρὶν μεῖζόν τι ἐξεργάσασθαι. οἱ μέντοι Γαλάται εὐτυχίαις τε ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐν παρέργῳ σφίσι πολεμοῦντας αἰσθόμενοι παρεσκευάσαντο ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλάσοντες. δείσαντες οὖν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἄμφω τοὺς ὑπάτους Κορνήλιον Κέθηγον καὶ Μινούκιον Ῥοῦφον ἐπὶ τοὺς Γαλάτας ἔπεμψαν· οἳ διαιρεθέντες ἄλλος ἄλλην ἐπόρθουν χώραν. πρὸς οὖν τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι διῃρέθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷ Κεθήγῳ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀμίλκου συμβαλόντες ἡττήθησαν, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ τοῦτο γνόντες ἀπεδειλίασαν καὶ οὐκέτι τῷ Ῥούφῳ συνέβαλον, ἀλλ' ἀδεῶς ἐκεῖνος τὴν χώραν κατέτρεχε. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷ Κεθήγῳ πολεμήσαντες σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἔτι ἐτύγχανον.

Τότε δὲ καὶ ὁ Φλαμίνιος μετὰ τοῦ Ἀττάλου τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν ὑπηγάγετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἄτταλος ἐν τῷ δημηγορεῖν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ γήρως ἀπέψυξεν, ὁ δέ γε Φλαμίνιος ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ἐλθὼν τῷ Φιλίππῳ προσέμιξε. καὶ ἱππομαχίαν ἐποιήσαντο· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς μείζω μάχην ἦν· διὸ καὶ ἄμφω ἀπανέστησαν. καὶ πρός τινα λόφον γενόμενοι, οὗ τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν Κυνὸς κεφαλὴν ὀνομάζουσιν, οἱ μὲν ἔνθεν οἱ δ' ἐκεῖθεν ηὐλίσαντο. καὶ μαχεσάμενοι τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἅπασιν ἰσοπαλεῖς ἂν ἀπηλλάγησαν, εἰ

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take possession of the several cities in which they were living; but after slaughtering many of the native population they were overthrown by the praetor Cornelius Lentulus before they had done any more mischief. The Gauls, however, elated by their successes, and aware of the fact that the Romans were paying only slight heed to the war against them, prepared to march upon Rome itself. The Romans consequently became afraid and sent B.C. 197
both the consuls, Cornelius Cethegus and Minucius Rufus, against the Gauls. The consuls parted company and each ravaged a different district; accordingly the enemy also divided forces to meet them. One band under Hamilcar encountered Cethegus and was defeated; the rest upon learning of this became faint-hearted and would no longer face Rufus, and he consequently overran the country at will. Those who had fought against Cethegus then made peace, while the remainder still continued under arms.

At this time Flamininus in company with Attalus reduced the whole of Boeotia. Attalus, however, expired of old age in the midst of a speech which he was making to the people there; and Flamininus went into Thessaly, where he came into collision with Philip. It was only a cavalry skirmish in which they engaged, for the ground was not suitable for a battle on a larger scale; hence both withdrew. And having reached a certain hill, the top ridge of which is called Dog's Head [Cynoscephalê], they encamped, one on one side, the other on the other. Here they fought with their entire armies, and would have separated with the contest undecided, had not the

60 Ὅτι ὁ Φίλιππος ἡττηθεὶς ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τῷ Φλαμινίνῳ·[1] καὶ ὅς, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐγλίχετο καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ οἱ εὐτυχίᾳ ἐπίπαν ἐπεξελθεῖν[2] ἐπεθύμει, ὅμως ἐσπείσατο. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ἐφοβήθη μὴ οἵ τε Ἕλληνες ὑπεξαιρεθέντος αὐτοῦ τό τε φρόνημα τὸ παλαιὸν ἀναλάβωσι καὶ σφᾶς οὐκέτι θεραπεύσωσι, καὶ οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ ἐν μεγάλῳ καὶ τότε αὐχήματι, ὅτι τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς νίκης κατειργάσαντο, ὄντες ἐπαχθέστεροί σφισι γένωνται, ὅ τε Ἀντίοχος ἔς τε τὴν Εὐρώπην, ὥσπερ ἠγγέλλετο, ἔλθῃ καὶ τῷ Φιλίππῳ συμμαχήσῃ.—U^G 11 (p. 381).

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μὴ οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ ἐπικρατεστέρους τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐποίησαν. ἡττηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ φυγών, εἶτα μαθὼν τήν τε Λάρισσαν καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν πόλεις τὰ τοῦ νικήσαντος ᾑρημένας, ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τῷ Φλαμινίῳ. καὶ ὃς ἐσπείσατο, χρήματά τε τοῦ Φιλίππου δόντος καὶ ὁμήρους ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον υἱὸν Δημήτριον, καὶ πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκπέμψαντος.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράττετο καὶ Ἀνδροσθένης ἐνικήθη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὴν Κόρινθον ἀπέβαλε. καὶ ὁ Φλαμίνιος ὁ Λούκιος ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὤν, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἔπειθε τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας μὴ συμμαχεῖν τῷ Φιλίππῳ, τήν τε Λευκάδα πολιορκίᾳ εἷλε κἀκείνους μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἧτταν τοῦ Φιλίππου γνόντας ῥᾷον συμπαρεστήσατο.

[1] Φλαμινίνῳ Urs., φλαμινίῳ Mss.
[2] ἐπεξελθεῖν Leuncl., ἐξελθεῖν Mss.

BOOK XVIII

Philip after his defeat made overtures to Flamininus. And the latter, however eagerly he coveted Macedonia also and desired to follow up his present good fortune to the utmost, nevertheless made a truce. This was due to his fear that if Philip were out of the way, the Greeks might recover their ancient spirit and no longer pay court to the Romans, that the Aetolians, already filled with great boastfulness because they had contributed the largest share to the victory, might become more troublesome to them, and that Antiochus might, as was reported, come to Europe and form an alliance with Philip.

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Aetolians caused the Romans to prevail. So Philip was defeated and fled, and afterward, learning that Larissa and the neighbouring cities had chosen the side of the victors, he made overtures to Flamininus. And the latter made a truce after Philip had given money and hostages, among them his own son Demetrius, and had sent out envoys to Rome in regard to peace.

During the period of these campaigns Androsthenes also had been vanquished by the Achaeans and had lost Corinth. And Lucius Flamininus, who was in charge of the fleet, when he could not persuade the Acarnanians to refrain from allying themselves with Philip, besieged and captured Leucas; later they learned of Philip's defeat, and he secured their submission with greater ease.

Zonaras 9, 16–17.

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὁ Μακεδονικὸς ἐλέλυτο πόλεμος, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῷ Φιλίππῳ ἑτοιμότατα συνηλλάγησαν ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἀποδοῦναι καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας τάς τε τριήρεις πλὴν πέντε καὶ τῆς στρατηγίδος αὐτῆς οὔσης ἑκκαιδεκήρους, καὶ χρήματα τὰ μὲν αὐτίκα δοῦναι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τάξεσί τισι, καὶ μόνης τῆς Μακεδονίας βασιλεύειν, μὴ πλείους τ' ἔχειν στρατιώτας τῶν πεντακισχιλίων, μήτε πόλεμον ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτοῦ χώρας ποιεῖσθαί τινι. τὰς γὰρ ἄλλας πόλεις τάς τε ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὰς πρὶν δουλευούσας αὐτῷ ἐλευθέρας ἀφῆκαν.

Οἱ δ' ὕπατοι τοῖς Γαλάταις αὖθις οὐκ ἀταλαιπώρως ἐπολέμησαν, ὅμως μέντοι καὶ τούτους ὑπέταξαν.

17. Πόρκιος δὲ Κάτων ὕπατος αἱρεθεὶς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν μικροῦ πᾶσαν ἀλλοτριωθεῖσαν ἀνεκτήσατο, ἀνὴρ ἀρετῇ πάσῃ τοὺς τότε νικῶν. νόμου δὲ τεθέντος μετὰ τὴν ἐν Κάνναις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συμβᾶσαν ἧτταν μήτε χρυσοφορεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας μήτε διφροφορεῖσθαι μήθ' ὅλως ἐσθῆτι καταστίκτῳ κεχρῆσθαι, ὁ δῆμος, εἰ χρὴ καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον, βουλὴν ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ περὶ τούτου ὁ Κάτων ἐδημηγόρησε, δεῖν κατασκευάζων τὸν νόμον κρατεῖν, καὶ τέλος ταῦτα ἐπήγαγε· "κοσμείσθωσαν οὖν αἱ γυναῖκες μὴ χρυσῷ μηδὲ λίθοις ἤ τισιν ἀνθηροῖς καὶ ἀμοργίνοις ἐσθήμασιν, ἀλλὰ σωφροσύνῃ, φιλανδρίᾳ, φιλοτεκνίᾳ, πειθοῖ, μετριότητι, τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς κειμένοις, τοῖς ὅπλοις τοῖς ἡμετέροις, ταῖς νίκαις, τοῖς τροπαίοις."

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Zonaras 9, 16–17.

Thus was the Macedonian war terminated, and the people of Rome very readily became reconciled with Philip upon the following terms. He must restore the captives and deserters; give up all his elephants and triremes except five (including the flag-ship, a vessel of sixteen banks); pay an indemnity, part at once, the rest in definite instalments; be king of Macedonia alone; keep not more than five thousand soldiers, and not make war with anybody outside his own country. The rest of the cities situated in Asia and Europe which had previously been subject to him they set free. B.C. 196

The consuls waged once more with the Gauls a war not unfraught with difficulties, yet in spite of all they subdued this people too.

17. Porcius Cato, upon being chosen consul, gained back Spain, which had been almost entirely alienated. He was a man who surpassed those of his age in every virtue. Now after the defeat inflicted upon the Romans at Cannae a law had been passed to the effect that women should not wear gold nor be carried in chairs, nor make use at all of embroidered raiment; and the people were now deliberating as to whether they ought to abolish this law. And on this subject Cato delivered a speech in which he urged that the law ought to remain in force, and closed with these words: "Let the women, then, be adorned not with gold nor precious stones, nor with bright and transparent raiment, but with modesty, with love of husband, love of children, persuasion, moderation, with the established laws, with our arms, our victories, our trophies." Lucius B.C. 195

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Λούκιος δὲ Οὐαλλέριος δήμαρχος ἀντιλέγων τῷ Κάτωνι διειλέχθη, ἀποδοθῆναι συμβουλεύων ταῖς γυναιξὶ τὸν κόσμον τὸν πάτριον. καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τούτου πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εἰπών, εἶτα πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα τὸν λόγον ἀπέτεινε καὶ ἔφη "σὺ δ', ὦ Κάτων, εἰ ἄχθῃ τῷ κόσμῳ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ βούλει φιλόσοφόν τι ποιῆσαι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές, ἀπόκειρον αὐτὰς περιτρόχαλα, καὶ χιτωνίσκους καὶ ἐξωμίδας ἔνδυσον, καὶ νὴ Δία σύ γε καὶ ὅπλισον ἐφ' ἵππους τε ἀναβίβασον, καὶ εἰ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀνάγαγε, ὅπως τε καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κοινωνῶσιν ἡμῖν, καὶ δεῦρο αὐτὰς εἰσφρώμεθα."[1] καὶ ὁ μὲν Οὐαλλέριος ταῦτα ἐπισκώπτων εἶπεν, ἀκούσασαι δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες (ἐγγὺς γὰρ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πολλαὶ διέτριβον πολυπραγμονοῦσαι τὸ γενησόμενον), εἰσεπήδησαν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καταβοῶσαι τοῦ νόμου, καὶ οὕτω σπουδῇ λυθέντος αὐτοῦ ἀνεδήσαντο εὐθὺς ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κόσμον τινὰ καὶ ἐξῆλθον χορεύουσαι.

Ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἀποπλεύσας εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ μαθὼν πάντας τοὺς μέχρι τοῦ Ἴβηρος οἰκοῦντας συνεστράφθαι, ἵνα καθ' ἓν αὐτῷ πολεμήσωσι, συγκροτήσας τὸ στράτευμα προσέβαλε σφίσι, καὶ ἡττήσας αὐτοὺς ἠνάγκασε προσχωρῆσαί οἱ, φοβηθέντας ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοβοεὶ ἀποβάλωσι. καὶ τότε μὲν οὐδὲν δεινὸν αὐτοῖς εἰργάσατο, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπόπτων τινῶν γενομένων τά τε ὅπλα πάντων ἀφείλετο καὶ τὰ τείχη σφῶν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων κατέσκαψε. γράμματα γὰρ ἑκασταχόσε διαπέμψας, καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἅπασιν αὐτὰ ἀποδοθῆναι

[1] εἰσφρώμεθα v. Herw., εἰσφερώμεθα Mss.

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Valerius, a tribune, spoke in opposition to Cato, urging that the old-time ornaments should be restored to the women. And after addressing the people at length on the subject he then directed his remarks to Cato, exclaiming: "As for you, Cato, if you are displeased at women's ornaments and wish to do something magnificent and befitting a philosopher, suppose you clip their hair close all around and put on them short frocks and tunics with one shoulder; yes, by Jove, and suppose you give them armour and mount them on horses and, if you like, take them to Spain; and let us bring them in here too, so that they may take part in our assemblies." Valerius said this in jest, but the women, hearing him,—for many of them were hanging about near the Forum, curious to know how the affair would come out,—rushed into the assembly, denouncing the law; and when, accordingly, it was speedily repealed, they straightway put on some ornaments there in the assembly, and went out dancing.

Cato sailed away and reached Spain, where he learned that all the inhabitants as far as the Iberus had united in order to wage war against him in a body. After organizing his army he attacked and defeated them and forced them to submit to him, since they feared that otherwise they might lose their cities at a single stroke. At the time he did them no harm, but later, when some of them incurred his suspicion, he deprived them all of their arms and caused the natives themselves to tear down their own walls. For he sent letters in all directions with orders that they should be delivered to everybody on the

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κελεύσας, προσέταξε τοὺς περιβόλους αὐθημερὸν καθελεῖν, θάνατον ἀπειλήσας τοῖς ἀπειθήσασιν. ἃ ἀναγνόντες οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντες, καὶ νομίσαντες ἕκαστοι μόνοις αὐτοῖς γεγράφθαι, καὶ μηδὲ καιρὸν λαβόντες βουλῆς, κατέβαλον πάντες τὰ τείχη.

Ὁ δὲ Κάτων διέβη τὸν Ἴβηρα, καὶ τοῖς Κελτίβηρσι συμμαχοῦσι τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος συμβαλεῖν μὴ θαρσήσας, μετεχειρίσατο θαυμασίως αὐτούς, ποτὲ μὲν μεταπείθων πρὸς αὐτὸν μεταστῆναι δόσει μείζονος μισθοῦ, ποτὲ δὲ παραινῶν σφίσιν ἐπανελθεῖν οἴκαδε, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ μάχην αὐτοῖς ἐς ἡμέραν ἐπαγγέλλων ῥητήν. ἐκ γὰρ τούτου ἐστασίασαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ φοβηθέντες οὐκέτι αὐτῷ πολεμῆσαι ἐτόλμησαν.

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same day; and in these he commanded the people to raze their walls immediately, threatening the disobedient with death. The officials upon reading the letters thought in each case that the message had been written to them alone, and without taking time for deliberation they all threw down their walls.

Cato now crossed the Iberus, and though he did not dare to contend with the Celtiberian allies of the enemy on account of their number, yet he handled them in marvellous fashion, now persuading them by a gift of larger pay to change front and join him, now admonishing them to return home, and sometimes even announcing a battle with them for a stated day. The result was that they broke up into separate factions and became so fearful that they no longer ventured to fight with him.

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18. Τότε δὲ καὶ Φλαμίνιος ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄργος ἐστράτευσε. τὸν γὰρ Νάβιν οὔτε σφίσιν πιστὸν καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι φοβερὸν ὁρῶντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πολέμιον ἐποιήσαντο. προσγενομένων δὲ καὶ συμμάχων ἐκ τοῦ Φιλίππου αὐτῷ, ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην ἤλασεν ὁ Φλαμίνιος, καὶ ἀπόνως τὰ Ταΰγετά τε ὑπερέβη καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσῆλθε μηδενὸς ἐναντιουμένου. ὁ γὰρ Νάβις, τούς τε Ῥωμαίους δείσας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ὑποπτεύσας, οὐκ ἐκινήθη ὥστε προαπαντῆσαι τῷ Φλαμινίῳ· πλησιάσαντι δὲ ἐπεξέδραμε, καταφρονήσας διά τε τὸν κάματον τὸν ἐκ τῆς πορείας καὶ ὅτι περὶ τὴν στρατοπέδευσιν ἀπησχόλητο, καί τινας συνετάραξε. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπεξῆλθε τοῖς προσβάλλουσι, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν οὐκέτι ἐπεξῆλθε. καταλιπὼν οὖν μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐκεῖ ὁ Φλαμίνιος, ὅπως μηδαμοῦ κινηθείη, τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐτράπετο· κἀκεῖνός τε καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ Ῥόδιοι καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἀττάλου παῖς Εὐμένης ἐπόρθουν αὐτήν. ἀπογνοὺς οὖν διὰ ταῦτα ὁ Νάβις κήρυκα τῷ Φλαμινίῳ ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἀπέστειλε. καὶ ὃς τοὺς μὲν λόγους αὐτοῦ προσήκατο, οὐκ αὐτίκα δὲ κατελύσατο. τὰς γὰρ ὁμολογίας, ἃς ἀπῃτεῖτο ὁ Νάβις ποιήσασθαι, οὔτ' ἀπαγο-

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18. At this time also Flamininus made a campaign against Argos, for the Romans, seeing that Nabis was not loyal to them and was a source of terror to the Greeks, regarded him as an enemy. With an accession of allies from Philip Flamininus marched upon Sparta, crossed Taÿgetus without difficulty, and advanced toward the city, meeting with no opposition. For Nabis, being afraid of the Romans and suspicious of the natives, did not rouse himself to the point of advancing to meet Flamininus; but when the latter drew near, he made a sortie, feeling contemptuous of his opponent while the latter was fatigued from the march and was busied, moreover, with the work of pitching camp; and he caused some confusion among them. The next day he came out to face the Romans when they assaulted, but as he lost large numbers, he did not try it again. So Flamininus left a portion of his army there to prevent Nabis from stirring anywhere, and with the rest turned his attention to the country, which he ravaged with the aid of his brother and the Rhodians and Eumenes, the son of Attalus. Nabis was consequently in despair and despatched a herald to Flamininus in regard to peace. The latter listened to his proposals, but did not immediately conclude peace. For the terms which Nabis was asked to make were such that

ρεῦσαι ἐθάρρει οὔτε ποιῆσαι συγκατετίθετο. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐκώλυσαν αὐτὸν συμβῆναι. καὶ τότε μὲν οὐκ ἐσπείσατο, προσβαλόντων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὖθις καὶ τὴν Σπάρτην ὀλίγου πᾶσαν (καὶ γὰρ ἀτείχιστος ἦν ἐν μέρει) ἑλόντων οὐκέτ' ἐπέσχεν, ἀλλὰ πρός τε τὸν Φλαμίνιον σπονδὰς ἐποιήσατο καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην πρεσβευσάμενος συνηλλάγη.

Ὁ δὲ Φλαμίνιος τότε μὲν πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκεν, ὕστερον δὲ συγκαλέσας αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπομνήσας ὧν εὐηργέτηντο, παρῄνεσεν εὔνοιαν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τηρεῖν, καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ἁπάσας ἐξήγαγε, καὶ ἀπῆρε μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ.

Ἀφικομένου δ' ἐς Ῥώμην τοῦ Φλαμινίου ὁ Νάβις ἐνεωτέρισε. κἀκ τούτου καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἅπαν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐταράχθη, τῶν Αἰτωλῶν σφᾶς ἐναγόντων· παρεσκευάζοντό τε ὡς πολεμήσοντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐπρεσβεύοντο. καὶ ἔπεισαν αὐτὸν ἐκπολεμωθῆναι Ῥωμαίοις, ὡς καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῆς Ἰταλίας τε βασιλεύσοντα. τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις τῶν πραγμάτων τεταραγμένων οὐχὶ περιγενέσθαι τοῦ Ἀντιόχου ἐλπὶς ἦν, ἀλλ' ἠγάπων εἴ γε τὰ ἑαυτῶν διασώσαιντο. ὁ γὰρ Ἀντίοχος μέγας μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει ἐδόκει δι' ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι τὴν Μηδίαν κατεστρέψατο, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι μείζων ἐγένετο ὅτι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον τὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα καὶ τὸν Ἀριαράθην τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας κηδεστὴν προσετέθειτο.

Τοιοῦτον τὸν Ἀντίοχον νομιζόμενον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι,

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he neither dared to refuse them, nor yet would he consent to make them; but the populace prevented him from coming to an agreement. So at this time Nabis did not make peace, but when the Romans attacked again and captured nearly the whole of Sparta (for it was without a wall in places), he held out no longer, but made a truce with Flamininus, and by sending an embassy to Rome effected a settlement.

Flamininus at this time set all the Greeks free, B.C. 194 and later he summoned them together and after reminding them of the benefits they had received urged them to maintain friendship with Rome; he then withdrew all the garrisons and departed with his entire army.

Upon the arrival of Flamininus at Rome Nabis B.C. 193 rebelled. Thereupon practically the whole Greek world became aroused, being encouraged by the Aetolians; and they were making ready for war and were sending embassies to Philip and Antiochus. The latter they succeeded in persuading to become an enemy of the Romans, promising him that he should be king of both Greece and Italy. With affairs in this disturbed state, the Romans had no hope of overcoming Antiochus, but were content if only they could preserve their former conquests. For he was regarded as a mighty ruler even by virtue of his own power, by which he had subjugated Media among other exploits; but he became far mightier still through having gained as sons-in-law Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia.

In view of this estimate of Antiochus, the Romans,

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μέχρι μὲν τῷ Φιλίππῳ ἐπολέμουν, ἐθεράπευον, φιλίως τε διὰ πρέσβεων ὁμιλοῦντες καὶ δῶρα πέμποντες· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνον ἐνίκησαν, καὶ τούτου, ὃν πρόσθεν ἐδεδίεσαν, κατεφρόνουν. ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν Θρᾴκην ἐπεραιώθη καὶ ἄλλα τε παρεστήσατο καὶ τὴν Λυσιμαχίαν[1] ἀνεστηκυῖαν συνῴκισεν, ὡς ὁρμητηρίῳ ταύτῃ χρησόμενος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ὁ Νάβις ἐπηγάγοντο. ὅ τε Ἀννίβας αὐτῷ συγγενόμενος ἐλπίσαι πεποίηκεν ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλεῦσαι, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου ἔθνη προσκαταστρέψασθαι, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὁρμῆσαι. ἔφθη γοῦν ὁ Ἀντίοχος καὶ δὶς ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διαβὰς εἴς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφικόμενος. πυθόμενος δὲ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον τεθνηκέναι, καὶ περὶ παντὸς τῆς Αἰγύπτου κρατῆσαι ποιούμενος, τὸν μὲν υἱὸν Σέλευκον ἐν τῇ Λυσιμαχίᾳ σὺν δυνάμει κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναζεύξας, καὶ ζῶντα τὸν Πτολεμαῖον μαθών, τῆς μὲν Αἰγύπτου ἀπέσχετο, ἐπιχειρήσας δ' ἐς Κύπρον πλεῦσαι ἔπταισεν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος, καὶ οἴκαδε ἀνεχώρησε. καὶ πρέσβεις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κἀκεῖνος ἀνταπέστελλον[2] ἀλλήλοις ἀντεγκαλοῦντες, ὅπως πρόφασίν τε τοῦ πολέμου λάβωσι καὶ ὅπως τὰ παρ' ἀλλήλοις προκατασκέψωνται.

Ἀννίβας δὲ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν παρὰ Καρχηδονίοις ἀρχῶν εἰληφώς, καὶ προσκρούσας ἀπ' αὐτῆς τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις, ἐμισήθη τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διεβλήθη ὡς τά τε

[1] Λυσιμαχίαν Wolf, λυσιμαχίδα Mss.
[2] ἀνταπέστελλον Bs., ἀντεπέστελλον Mss.

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so long as they were at war with Philip, were careful to court his favour, keeping up friendly relations with him through envoys and sending him gifts. But when they had vanquished their other enemy, they despised also this king whom they had formerly feared. Antiochus crossed over into Thrace and B.C. 196
gained control of many districts. He also helped to colonize Lysimachia, which had been depopulated, intending to use it as a base; for Philip and Nabis had invited his assistance. Hannibal, too, had been with him, and had caused him to hope that he might sail to Carthage, and from there to Italy, and further that he might subjugate the races along the Ionian Gulf, and with them set out against Rome. Antiochus did, at any rate, succeed in crossing into Europe twice, and in reaching Greece. But learning now that Ptolemy was dead, and deeming it all-important to get possession of Egypt, he left his son Seleucus with a force at Lysimachia, and himself set out on the march. He found out, however, that Ptolemy was alive, and so kept away from Egypt, but made an attempt to sail to Cyprus; however, he was baffled by a storm and returned home. The Romans and he both now sent envoys to each other submitting mutual complaints, in order that they might find an excuse for war and also that they might observe conditions on the other side before the conflict began.

Hannibal had obtained the most important office B.C. 195
at Carthage and in his tenure of it had offended the most powerful nobles and incurred their hatred. Malicious reports about him were also conveyed to

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τῶν Καρχηδονίων νεωτερίζων καὶ τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ κοινολογούμενος. καὶ μαθὼν τινας ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης παρόντας, καὶ δείσας μὴ συλληφθῇ, ἀπέδρα νυκτὸς ἐκ τῆς Καρχηδόνος. καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐλθὼν ἑαυτῷ τε τὴν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα κάθοδον καὶ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἔπραττεν, ὑπισχνούμενος ἐκείνῳ περιποιήσειν τό τε τῆς Ἑλλάδος κράτος καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας· μέχρις οὗ σφίσιν ὁ Σκιπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς συνεγένετο. οὗτος γὰρ δικαστὴς ἐς τὴν Λιβύην πεμφθεὶς τῷ τε Μασινίσσᾳ καὶ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις περὶ ὅρων γῆς διαφερομένοις, μετέωρον τὴν ἔχθραν αὐτῶν κατέλιπεν, ἵν' ἀλλήλοις τε διαφέροιντο καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν κρίσιν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὀργίζοιτο. ἐντεῦθεν δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς πρεσβεύσων πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον, ἔργῳ δὲ ἵνα κἀκεῖνον καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐπιφανεὶς καταπλήξῃ καὶ πράξῃ τὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συμφέροντα. ἀφικομένου δ' αὐτοῦ οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔτι προσεῖχεν ὁ Ἀντίοχος τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ· ὑπώπτευσε γὰρ αὐτὸν δι' ἀπορρήτων ὁμιλήσαντα τῷ Σκιπίωνι, καὶ ἄλλως δὲ αὐτὸν ἐβαρύνετο, ὅτι ἅπαν βούλευμα τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ πᾶς ἐπεγράφετο καὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου κατόρθωσιν ἐν τούτῳ πάντες ἐπήλπιζον. διὰ γοῦν ταῦτα καὶ ἐφθόνησε τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ καὶ ἐφοβήθη αὐτὸν ἵνα μή τι δυνηθεὶς μεταβάληται· καὶ οὔτε στράτευμα παρέσχεν αὐτῷ οὔτ' ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμψεν· οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις αὐτῷ κατακόρως ἐκέχρητο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπετήδευε μηδὲν τῶν πραττομένων αὐτοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι.

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the Romans, to the effect that he was rousing the Carthaginians to revolt and was taking counsel with Antiochus. Learning now that some men from Rome were present, and fearing arrest, he fled from Carthage by night. And coming to Antiochus, he undertook to pave the way for his own restoration to his native country and for war against the Romans by promising the king that he would secure for him the rule of both Greece and Italy. This was before Scipio Africanus joined them. Scipio had been sent B.C. 193 to Africa as an arbitrator between Masinissa and the Carthaginians, who were at variance over some boundaries, and he had left their dispute still unsettled, in order that they might continue to quarrel and that neither of them might be angry at the Romans on account of their decision. From there he crossed into Asia, nominally as an envoy to Antiochus, but in reality to frighten both him and Hannibal by his coming and to accomplish what was for the advantage of the Romans. After his arrival Antiochus no longer paid the same deference to Hannibal. He suspected him because of his secret conversations with Scipio, and found him burdensome in any case, since everybody ascribed every plan to Hannibal, and all placed in him their hope for success in the war. For these reasons, then, he became both jealous and afraid of Hannibal, lest he might change his demeanour, in case he should get control of any power. So he neither supplied him with an army nor sent him to Carthage; furthermore, he did not favour him with any great intimacy, but even endeavoured to avoid all appearance of acting on his advice.

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19. Ἡ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου φήμη πολλὴ τὴν Ῥώμην κατέσχε καὶ ἐς φροντίδα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οὐκ ἐλαχίστην κατέστησε. συχνῶν δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου θρυλλουμένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὅτι τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἤδη κατέχει, τῶν δ' ὅτι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπείγεται λογοποιούντων, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἄλλους τε καὶ Φλαμίνιον οἰκείως αὐτοῖς ἔχοντα ἔστειλαν, ὅπως τόν τε Φίλιππον καὶ ἐκείνους ἐπίσχῃ μηδὲν νεοχμῶσαι, καὶ στρατηγοὺς Μάρκον μὲν Βαίβιον εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν, εἰ ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθῆναι τολμήσειεν ὁ Ἀντίοχος, Αὖλον δὲ Ἀτίλιον ἐπὶ τὸν Νάβιν. καὶ οὗτος μὲν οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν (ἔφθη γὰρ ὁ Νάβις ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν φθαρεὶς ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη ἥλω ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν), ὁ δὲ Βαίβιος καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος πολλὰ τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἐβεβαιώσαντο. ταῖς γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁμολογίαις ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐμμεμένηκε, διά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἀντίοχος χωρία αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ τινὰ ἐπεσπάσατο.

Ὁ δέ γε Φλαμίνιος περιιὼν τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς μὲν μηδ' ἀποστῆναι ἔπεισε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀποστάντας ἤδη μετέστησε, πλὴν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ ἑτέρων τινῶν. αὐτοί τε γὰρ τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ προσεχώρησαν καὶ ἄλλους τοὺς μὲν ἑκόντας συνίστων, ἐνίους δέ γε καὶ ἄκοντας. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος, καίτοι χειμῶνος ὄντος, ὅμως πρὸς τὰς τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐλπίδας ἔσπευσε· διὸ οὐδὲ ἀξιόμαχον ἐπήγετο δύναμιν. τὴν μέντοι Χαλκίδα μετ' αὐτῶν ἔλαβε, τήν τε ἄλλην Εὔβοιαν προσεποιήσατο. καὶ ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις Ῥωμαίους τινὰς εὑρών, πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀφῆκε. καὶ ἐς τὴν Χαλκίδα

BOOK XIX

Zonaras 9, 19.

19. The fame of Antiochus occupied a large share of Rome's attention and caused the Romans no small degree of uneasiness. Many rumours were rife regarding him: some reported that he already held the whole of Greece, others that he was hastening toward Italy. The Romans accordingly sent envoys to Greece, among them Flamininus, who was on intimate terms with the people there, in order that he might prevent both Philip and them from beginning a revolt; and of the praetors they sent Marcus Baebius to Apollonia, in case Antiochus should undertake to cross over into Italy by that route, and Aulus Atilius against Nabis. Now Aulus accomplished nothing, for Nabis had already perished, the victim of a plot on the part of the Aetolians, and Sparta had been captured by the Achaeans; but Baebius and Philip strengthened the loyalty of many portions of Thessaly. For the Macedonian king had remained true to his agreement with the Romans, principally for the reason that Antiochus had annexed some settlements belonging to him in Thrace. B.C. 192

Flamininus went about Greece, persuading some not to revolt, and winning back others who had already revolted, with the exception of the Aetolians and a few others. The Aetolians had gone over to Antiochus and were forming a union out of various states with or without their consent. Antiochus, even though it was winter, hastened forward to fulfil the hopes of the Aetolians; and this is the reason why he did not bring a respectable force. With the troops he had, however, he took Chalcis and gained control of the rest of Euboea; and finding some Romans among the captives he released them all.

62 Ὅτι ὁ Ἀντίοχος καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ αὐτοῦ προδιεφθάρησαν·[1] τῇ τε γὰρ ἄλλῃ ῥᾳστώνῃ καὶ ἔρωτι κόρης τινὸς ἔς τε τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον ἐξώκειλε καὶ ἀπολέμους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐποίησεν.—V. 52 (p. 609).

Zonaras 9, 19.

διεχείμασεν· ὅθεν αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἵ τε στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ τὰς γνώμας προδιεφθάρησαν. τῇ τε γὰρ ἄλλῃ ῥᾳστώνῃ καὶ ἔρωτι κόρης τινὸς ἐς τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον ἐξώκειλε, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπολέμους ἐποίησεν.

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, μαθόντες αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρόντα τὴν Χαλκίδα τε ᾑρηκότα, τὸν πόλεμον φανερῶς ἀνείλοντο· καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων Σκιπίωνα μὲν τὸν Νασικᾶν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῆς Ἰταλίας κατέσχον, Μάνιον δὲ Γλαβρίωνα μετὰ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεπόμφασι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Νασικᾶς τοὺς Βοουΐους προσεπολεμώσατο, ὁ δὲ Γλαβρίων τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐξήλασε. καὶ ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ἐλθὼν πολλὰ τῶν ταύτῃ μετὰ τοῦ Βαιβίου καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου παρεστήσατο. τόν τε γὰρ Μεγαλοπολίτην Φίλιππον ἑλὼν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλε, καὶ τὸν Ἀμύνανδρον ἐν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκβαλὼν τῷ Μακεδόνι αὐτὴν ἔδωκεν.

Ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἐν τούτοις ἡσυχίαν ἄγων ἐν τῇ Χαλκίδι διέτριβεν· εἶτα εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐλήλυθε καὶ ἐν ταῖς Θερμοπύλαις ἀντιπροσιόντας οἱ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπέμεινε· πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὀλιγότητα σύμμαχον τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν ἕξειν ἐνόμισε. καὶ ἵνα μή τι καὶ αὐτὸς πάθῃ οἷον οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον

[1] προδιεφθάρησαν Bk., προσδιεφθάρησαν Ms.

BOOK XIX

Antiochus and his generals were ruined at the outset; for by his general indolence and by his passion for a certain girl he drifted into a life of luxury and at the same time rendered the rest unfit for warfare.

Zonaras 9, 19.

Then he took up his winter-quarters at Chalcis, with the result that he himself and his generals and his soldiers had their moral energy ruined at the outset; for by his general indolence and by his passion for a certain girl he drifted into a life of luxury and rendered the rest unfit for warfare. B.C. 191

The people at Rome, learning that he was in Greece and that he had captured Chalcis, took up the war openly. Of the consuls they retained Scipio Nasica to guard Italy and sent Manius Glabrio with a large army into Greece. Nasica conducted a war against the Boii, and Glabrio drove Antiochus out of Greece. He also went to Thessaly, and with the help of Baebius and Philip gained control of many of the towns there. He captured Philip of Megalopolis and sent him to Rome, and drove Amynander out of his domain, which he then gave to the Macedonian ruler.

Antiochus meanwhile was remaining at Chalcis and keeping quiet. Afterward he went into Boeotia and awaited the advance of the Romans at Thermopylae; for he believed, in view of his small numbers, that the natural advantages of the place would be of assistance to him. But in order to avoid repeating the experience of the Greeks who had been

Zonaras 9, 19.

ἀντιταχθέντες ἐκεῖ, μέρος τι τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὀρῶν ἀνεβίβασεν, ὥστε φρουρῆσαι αὐτά. ὁ δὲ Γλαβρίων βραχύ τε τῶν χωρίων ἐφρόντισε καὶ τὴν μάχην οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο, ἀλλὰ Πόρκιον μὲν Κάτωνα καὶ Οὐαλλέριον Φλάκκον ὑποστρατήγους νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἄκροις ἀπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω συνέμιξε. καὶ ἕως μὲν ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ ἐμάχετο, ἐπεκράτει, ἀναχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα ἠλαττοῦτο, μέχρις ὁ Κάτων κατὰ νώτου οἱ ἐγένετο. τοῖς γὰρ Αἰτωλοῖς καθεύδουσιν ἐπελθὼν τοὺς μὲν πλείους ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς διεσκέδασε, κἀντεῦθεν καταδραμὼν καὶ τῆς κάτω μάχης μετέσχε. καὶ τόν τε Ἀντίοχον ἔτρεψαν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ εἷλον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν Χαλκίδα εὐθὺς ἀπεχώρησε, μαθὼν δὲ τὸν ὕπατον προσιόντα, ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀνεκομίσθη λαθών.

Καὶ τὴν μὲν Βοιωτίαν καὶ τὴν Εὔβοιαν ὁ Γλαβρίων αὐτίκα κατέσχε, τῇ δ' Ἡρακλείᾳ, μὴ βουληθέντων αὐτῷ προσχωρῆσαι τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο· καὶ τὴν μὲν κάτω πόλιν πολιορκίᾳ εἷλε, τοὺς δ' ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀναφυγόντας ὁμολογίᾳ παρεστήσατο. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τότε ζωγρηθεῖσι καὶ Δημόκριτος ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐγένετο, ὃς τῷ Φλαμινίῳ ποτὲ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἠρνήσατο, καὶ ψήφισμα ἐκείνου αἰτήσαντος, ἵν' ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πέμψῃ, "θάρρει," ἔφη, "ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸ κομιῶ μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Τιβέριδι ὑμῖν ἀναγνώσομαι." τοῦ Φιλίππου δὲ τὴν Λάμιαν πολιορκοῦντος ἐπῆλθεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὁ Γλαβρίων, καὶ τήν τε νίκην καὶ

Zonaras 9, 19.

arrayed there against the Persian he sent a division of the Aetolians up to the summit of the mountains to keep guard there. Glabrio was little concerned about the nature of the region, and did not postpone battle; but he sent the lieutenants Porcius Cato and Valerius Flaccus by night against the Aetolians on the summit, and himself engaged in conflict with Antiochus at dawn. Now as long as he fought on level ground he had the best of it, but when Antiochus withdrew to a higher position, he found himself at a disadvantage, until Cato arrived in the enemy's rear. Cato had come upon the Aetolians while they were asleep and had killed most of them and scattered the rest; then he hurried down and participated also in the battle going on below. So they routed Antiochus and captured his camp. The king forthwith retired to Chalcis, but learning that the consul was approaching, he retired secretly to Asia.

Glabrio at once occupied Boeotia and Euboea, and proceeded to deliver assaults upon Heraclea, since the Aetolians were unwilling to yield to him. The lower city he captured by siege, and later he received the capitulation of those who had fled to the acropolis. Among the prisoners taken at this time was Democritus, the Aetolian general, who had once refused alliance with Flamininus, and when the latter had asked for a decree that he might send it to Rome, had said: "Don't worry. I will carry it there with my army and read it to you all on the banks of the Tiber." Philip was engaged in besieging Lamia when Glabrio came against it and appropriated both

1[a] Δίων ιθ' βιβλίῳ "περι . . . τὰ δὲ ὑμέτερα ἐγώ τε ἀεὶ προστατῶ."—Bekk. Anecd. 166, 1.

Zonaras 9, 19–20.

τὴν λείαν ἐσφετερίσατο. τῶν μέντοι Αἰτωλῶν οἱ λοιποὶ συναλλαγῆναι μὲν ἠθέλησαν, οὐκ ἐσπείσαντο δέ, τοῦ Ἀντιόχου πρέσβεις αὐτοῖς καὶ χρήματα πέμψαντος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πόλεμον ἡτοιμάζοντο. καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος ὑπεκρίνετο μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν, τὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου ἐφρόνει. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ναύπακτον ὁ Γλαβρίων τῶν Αἰτωλῶν οὖσαν ἐπολιόρκει· οὓς ἐλθὼν ὁ Φλαμίνιος ἔπεισε σπείσασθαι, γνωρίμως αὐτοῖς ἔχων. καὶ πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκεῖνοί τε καὶ οἱ Ἠπειρῶται ἐστάλκασι. καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος στέφανον νικητήριον τῷ Διὶ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ πέμψας ἄλλα τε ἀντειλήφει καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τὸν Δημήτριον ἐν Ῥώμῃ ὁμηρεύοντα. τοῖς δ' Αἰτωλοῖς σπονδαὶ οὐκ ἐγένοντο· οὐ γὰρ ἐλαττωθῆναί τι κατεδέξαντο.

20. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀντίοχον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς Σκιπίωνας ἔταξαν τόν τε Ἀφρικανὸν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Λούκιον. οἳ τοῖς μὲν Αἰτωλοῖς ἀνοχὴν ἔδοσαν, ἵν' ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην αὖθις ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης πρεσβεύσωνται, ἠπείγοντο δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον, καὶ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐλθόντες, συμμάχους τε λαβόντες ἐκ τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἤλασαν. καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν περαιωθέντες τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν παραθαλασσίων κατέλαβον προκατειλημμένα παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ προαπελθόντων Ῥωμαίων, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Εὐμενοῦς καὶ τῶν Ῥοδίων, οἳ καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ναῦς τινας ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀνάγοντα περὶ Παμφυλίαν

BOOK XIX

Dio, Book XIX. "... but I always champion your interests."[1]

Zonaras 9, 19–20.

the victory and the booty. Although the remainder of the Aetolians were desirous of peace, still they made no truce, since Antiochus sent them envoys and money, but set themselves in readiness for war. Philip affected friendliness toward the Romans, but his heart was with Antiochus. Meantime Glabrio was besieging Naupactus, which belonged to the Aetolians, and Flamininus, coming to them, persuaded the inhabitants to make peace, for he was well known to them. So they, as well as the Epirots, despatched envoys to Rome. Philip sent a crown of victory to Capitoline Jupiter and received in return, among other presents, his son Demetrius, who had been living at Rome as a hostage. But with the Aetolians no truce was made, for they would not submit to any curtailment of privileges.

20. The Romans opposed to Antiochus the Scipios, B.C. 190
Africanus and his brother Lucius. These generals granted the Aetolians an armistice for the purpose of once more sending an embassy to Rome regarding peace, and hurried on against Antiochus. On reaching Macedonia they secured allies from Philip, and marched on to the Hellespont. Then crossing into Asia, they found most of the coast districts already occupied by the Romans who had gone there first, as well as by Eumenes and the Rhodians; the latter had also conquered Hannibal near Pamphylia, as he was taking some ships up from

[1] v. Gutschmid places here, comparing Livy 36, 35, 4 (speech of Flamininus to the Naupactians).

2 Ὅτι Σέλευκος ὁ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τὸν τοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ υἱὸν διαπλέοντα ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος λαβὼν ἐν θεραπείᾳ πολλῇ ἐπεποίητο. ἀπολυτρῶσαι μὲν γάρ, καίτοι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πολλὰ δεηθέντος, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακόν τι εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὐναντίον ἰσχυρῶς περιεῖπε, καὶ τέλος, καίπερ τῶν σπονδῶν ἁμαρτών, ἀφῆκεν ἄνευ λύτρων.—V. 53 (p. 609).

Zonaras 9, 20.

ἐνίκησαν. καὶ Εὐμένης δὲ καὶ Ἄτταλος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν ἐκάκουν τοῦ Ἀντιόχου, καὶ πόλεις αἱ μὲν βίᾳ, αἱ δ' ἑκούσιαι πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μεθίσταντο, ὥστε ἐκ τούτων ἀναγκασθῆναι τὸν Ἀντίοχον τὴν Εὐρώπην τε παντελῶς ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Σέλευκον ἀπὸ τῆς Λυσιμαχίας ἀπαγαγεῖν. ὃν ἐπανελθόντα σὺν δυνάμει ἐπὶ τὴν Πέργαμον ἔπεμψεν. ὡς δὲ προσεδρεύσας τῇ πόλει οὐδὲν ἐπέρανε, καὶ οἱ Σκιπίωνες ἐπῆλθον, εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο, προσδοκήσας τεύξεσθαι τῆς εἰρήνης, ὅτι τὸν Ἀφρικανοῦ υἱὸν συλλαβὼν ἐν θεραπείᾳ εἶχε πολλῇ· καὶ τέλος, καίπερ τῶν σπονδῶν ἁμαρτών, ἄνευ λύτρων ἀφῆκεν αὐτόν. οὐκ ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ εἰρήνη, τοῦ Ἀντιόχου ἃ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ἀπῄτουν μὴ συνθεμένου ποιῆσαι.

Τέως μέντοι ἐπὶ πολὺ ἡσύχασαν, εἶτα καὶ ἐπολέμησαν. ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν οὕτως ἐγένετο. πρῶτα τὰ ἅρματα, εἶτα τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἔταξε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς σφενδονήτας καὶ τοὺς

Seleucus,[1] the son of Antiochus, had captured the son of Africanus, who was sailing across from Greece, and had given him the kindest treatment. Although his father many times requested the privilege of ransoming him, his captor refused, yet did him no harm; on the contrary, he showed him every honour, and finally, though he failed of securing a truce, released him without ransom.

Zonaras 9, 20.

Phoenicia. Eumenes and his brother Attalus were injuring the country of Antiochus, and cities kept coming over to the Romans, some under compulsion, some voluntarily, with the result that Antiochus was obliged to abandon Europe entirely and to recall his son Seleucus from Lysimachia. When this son had returned, he sent him with troops against Pergamum. Inasmuch, however, as he accomplished nothing by his siege and the Scipios presently approached, Antiochus promptly made overtures to them; for he expected to obtain peace, since he had got possession of the son of Africanus and was according him the kindest treatment. In the end, though he failed of securing a truce, he released him without ransom. Now the reason why peace was not concluded was that Antiochus would not agree to the Roman demands.

For some time after this, however, the antagonists remained quiet; but finally they fell to fighting again. The nature of the struggle was as follows. Antiochus placed the chariots in front, with the elephants next, and behind these the slingers and

[1] An error of the excerptor for Antiochus himself. Compare Zonaras.

Zonaras 9, 20.

τοξότας. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐκδρομὴν τῶν ἁρμάτων προεκδραμόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς σφίσι πολλῆς ἀντιμέτωποι προσπεσόντες ἀνέκοψαν, ὥστε τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας τραπόμενα πάλιν τὸ οἰκεῖον συνετάραξαν (αὐτοί τε γὰρ ἐπλανῶντο καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους σφίσιν ἐκφοβήσαντες διεσκέδασαν), τὴν δὲ τοξείαν καὶ τὴν σφενδόνησιν ὄμβρος πολὺς ἐπιγενόμενος ἀσθενῆ ἐποίησεν· ὁμίχλη τε πλείστη καὶ βαθεῖα συμβᾶσα τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίους ἅτε κρατοῦντας καὶ ἀγχεμάχως ἐκ χειρὸς μαχομένους οὐδὲν ἐνεπόδισε, τοὺς δ' ἐναντίους, οἷα πεφοβημένους ἵππῳ τε καὶ τοξείᾳ τὸ πλεῖστον χρωμένους, τήν τε πρόοψιν εἰς τὰ τοξεύματα ἀφείλετο καὶ περὶ ἀλλήλους ὡς ἐν σκότῳ πλανωμένους ἔσφηλεν. ὅμως δ' οὖν ἴσχυσεν ὁ Ἀντίοχος, τοῖς καταφράκτοις ἱππεῦσι τοὺς ἀντιστάντας αὐτῷ τρεψάμενος, μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐλθεῖν ἐπιδιώκων αὐτούς. καί γε εἷλεν ἂν αὐτό, εἰ μὴ Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος Λέπιδος ὁ τὴν φρουρὰν αὐτοῦ ἔχων τοὺς πρώτους προσιόντας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς τῆς φυγῆς ἐπισχεῖν. ἐκ γὰρ τούτου ἐκείνων τε οἱ λοιποὶ ὑποστρέψαντες καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκραιφνέσιν ἐπεκδραμὼν τοῖς φρουροῖς ἀπεώσαντο τὸν Ἀντίοχον. ἐν ᾧ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγίνετο, Ζεῦξις καθ' ἕτερον μέρος τῷ ταφρεύματι προσβαλὼν εἴσω τε αὐτοῦ εἰσῆλθε καὶ ἁρπαγὴν ἐποιεῖτο, μέχρις οὗ ὁ Λέπιδος ᾔσθετο. τότε γὰρ κἀκεῖνος τὸ σφέτερον ἐρρύσατο, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων τὸ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου εἷλε, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς

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the archers. Now the Romans anticipated the charge of the chariots by a charge of their own, and with a mighty shout they rushed straight at them and repulsed them, so that most of the chariots turned back toward the elephants, and thus threw their own army into confusion; for in their wild flight they terrified and scattered the men marshalled beside them. Moreover, a heavy rain which now came up rendered the efforts of the archers and slingers of little effect. There followed a dense and heavy mist, which in no wise hindered the Romans, since they had the upper hand and were fighting at close range; but in the case of their opponents, who were terrified and who employed cavalry and archers for the most part, it made it impossible for them to see which way to shoot their arrows and caused them to stumble over one another as if they were wandering about in the dark. Nevertheless Antiochus was able with his mail-clad cavalry to rout those confronting him, and to advance in pursuit of them as far as their camp. Indeed, he would have taken it, had not Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, who was charged with guarding it, killed the first Romans who came up, after he had failed to persuade them to check their flight. Thereupon the rest of the fugitives faced about, and Lepidus himself also made a sortie with the garrison, which was fresh; and by their united efforts they repulsed Antiochus. While this action was taking place, Zeuxis had assailed the ramparts in another quarter, had succeeded in getting within them, and continued to pillage until Lepidus became aware of it and came to the rescue of his own camp. At the same time Scipio captured the camp of Antiochus,

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μὲν ἀνθρώπους, πολλοὺς δ' ἵππους, ὑποζύγια, ἀργύριον, χρυσίον, ἐλέφαντας[1] ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ πολυτελῆ εὗρε. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀντίοχος ἡττηθεὶς αὐτίκα ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀνεχώρησεν, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσέθεντο.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνακωχή τις ἐπικηρυκευσαμένου τοῦ Ἀντιόχου ἐσπείσθη. ὅ τε γὰρ Ἀφρικανὸς εὐνοϊκῶς οἱ διὰ τὸν υἱὸν εἶχε, καὶ ὁ ὕπατος οὐκ ἤθελε τὴν νίκην τῷ διαδόχῳ πλησιάζοντι καταλελοιπέναι. οὔκουν οὐδὲ ἐπέταξαν τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ πλέον οὐδὲν ἢ ὅσα καὶ πρὸ τῆς μάχης ᾔτουν. διὸ καὶ Γναῖος Μάλλιος ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν σφῶν διαδεξάμενος οὐκ ἠρκέσθη τοῖς συγκειμένοις, ἀλλὰ πλείω αὐτὸν ἀπῄτησε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὁμήρους δοῦναι ἐκέλευσεν ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον, καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους πάντας ἐκδοῦναι, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἦν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος καὶ ἄκων πρὸς ἅπαντα ἐπειθάρχησεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκδοῦναι ἠδυνήθη· πρὸς γὰρ Προυσίαν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Βιθυνῶν προκατέφυγε. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀντίοχος πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πέμψας ἐσπείσατο, Σκιπίων δὲ Λούκιος ἐπῃνεῖτο ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀσιατικοῦ ἐπωνυμίαν δι' αὐτὴν ἔσχεν, ὥσπερ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀφρικανὸς ἐπεκλήθη, τῆς Καρχηδόνος κρατήσας μέγιστον ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ δυνηθείσης.

Τοιοῦτοι δ' οὖν ἄνδρες οὗτοι γενόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δόξης ἐλθόντες ἐξ ἀρετῆς, δικαστηρίῳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον παρεδόθησαν· καὶ ὁ μὲν Λούκιος κατεψηφίσθη ὡς τάχα πολλὰ ἐκ τῆς λείας σφετερισάμενος, Ἀφρικανὸς δὲ ὡς

[1] ἐλέφαντας Cary, ἐλέφαντα Mss.

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where he found many people, many horses, baggage animals, silver and gold, elephants, and a number of precious objects besides. Antiochus after this defeat at once retired into Syria, and the Asiatic Greeks attached themselves to the Roman cause.

After this, upon overtures made by Antiochus, an armistice was arranged. Africanus was well disposed toward him for his son's sake, and the consul, moreover, did not wish to have the victory left to his successor, who was now drawing near; consequently they laid upon Antiochus conditions no more severe than those they had originally made before the battle. Hence Gnaeus Manlius, who succeeded them in office, was not pleased with the terms agreed upon, and he made additional demands upon the king, besides requiring him to give hostages, one of whom should be his son Antiochus, and to deliver up all the deserters, among them Hannibal. Antiochus reluctantly yielded obedience on all the other points; to give up Hannibal, however, was out of his power, since the latter had already fled to Prusias, king of Bithynia. On these conditions Antiochus sent envoys to Rome and secured peace. Lucius Scipio was praised for his victory, and received the title of Asiaticus because of it, just as his brother had been called Africanus for conquering Carthage, the most powerful city in Africa. B.C. 189

These brothers, who had proved themselves men of such valour, and as a result of their excellence had attained such a great reputation were not long afterward brought to trial before the assembly. Lucius was condemned nominally for having appropriated a large share of the spoil, and Africanus

63 Ὅτι ἐφθόνουν τοῖς Σκιπίωσι πολλοί, ὅτι δύο ἀδελφοὶ γένους τε καὶ ἀρετῆς εὖ[1] ἥκοντες τά τε ἄλλα κατέπραξαν ὥσπερ εἴρηται καὶ ἐπικλήσεις τοιαύτας ἔλαβον, ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε οὐδὲν ἠδίκουν δηλοῦται μὲν καὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἀπεδείχθη δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῇ τε τοῦ Ἀσιατικοῦ δημεύσει τῆς οὐσίας, ἐν ᾗ μηδὲν πλέον τῶν προϋπαρχόντων οἱ εὑρέθη, καὶ τῇ τοῦ[2] Ἀφρικανοῦ ἐς Λίτερνον ἀναχωρήσει κἀνταῦθα μέχρι τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς ἀδείᾳ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ πρώτην ἀπήντησε, νομίζων τῇ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀληθείᾳ περιέσεσθαι.—V. 54 (p. 609).

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ἐπιεικεστέρας τὰς συνθήκας διὰ τὸν υἱὸν ποιησάμενος, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς διὰ φθόνον. ὅτι δ' οὐδὲν ἠδίκουν δηλοῦται μὲν καὶ ἄλλοθεν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ ὅτι καὶ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Ἀσιατικοῦ δημευθείσης οὐδὲν πλέον τῶν αὐτῷ προϋπαρχόντων εὑρέθη, ὅτι τε τοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ ἐς τὸ Λίτερνον πρὸ ψήφου ἀναχωρήσαντος καὶ μέχρι τελευτῆς ἐκεῖ καταμείναντος οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ ἔτι κατεψηφίσατο.

Ὁ δέ γε Μάλλιος τότε Πισιδίαν Λυκαονίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν τῆς τε Γαλατίας τῆς Ἀσιανῆς πολλὰ προσηγάγετο. ἔστι γάρ τι κἀνταῦθα γένος αὐτῶν, ἐκ τοῦ Εὐρωπαίου ἀποδάσμιον. Βρέννον γάρ ποτε βασιλέα σφῶν προστησάμενοι τήν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην ἐπέδραμον, κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν Βιθυνίαν διαβάντες μέρη τινὰ

[1] εὖ inserted by Val. [2] τοῦ Rk., γοῦν Ms.

Many were jealous of the Scipios because the two brothers, distinguished alike for birth and integrity, had accomplished all that has been related and had secured such titles. For that they were guilty of no wrong-doing is made plain even by my former statements, and was shown still more conclusively on the occasion of the confiscation of the property of Asiaticus —which was found to consist merely of his original inheritance—or again by the retirement of Africanus to Liternum and the security that he enjoyed there to the end of his life. At first, to be sure, he had appeared in court, thinking that the truth respecting his integrity would save him.

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for having made the terms of peace milder on account of his son; but the true cause of their conviction was jealousy. That they were guilty of no wrong-doing is made plain both by other evidence and in particular by the fact that when the property of Asiaticus was confiscated it was found to consist merely of his original inheritance, and that though Africanus retired to Liternum before a vote was taken and lived there to the end, no one ever again voted to condemn him.

Manlius at this time won over Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Pamphylia, and a large part of Asiatic Gaul [Galatia]. For there exists in that region too a race of Gauls, which broke off from the European stock. With their king, Brennus, at their head they once overran Greece and Thrace, and crossing thence to Bithynia, they detached certain portions

τῆς τε Φρυγίας καὶ τῆς Παφλαγονίας τῆς τε Μυσίας τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ καὶ Καππαδοκίας ἀπετέμοντο καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς κατῴκησαν, καὶ νῦν ἔθνος ἴδιόν εἰσι τὸ ὄνομα τῶν Γαλατῶν φέροντες. οὗτοι δὴ πράγματα τῷ Μαλλίῳ παρέσχον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησε, τὴν μὲν Ἄγκυραν τὴν πόλιν ἑλὼν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ὁμολογίᾳ παραστησάμενος. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ συχνὸν παρὰ Ἀριαράθους τοῦ Καππαδοκῶν βασιλέως ἀργύριον ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ λαβὼν ἀπῆρεν οἴκαδε.

21. Οἱ δ' Αἰτωλοὶ πρέσβεις τὸ δεύτερον ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πέμψαντες αὐτοὶ αὖθις ἐνεωτέριζον. διὸ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τούς τε πρέσβεις εὐθὺς ἀπεπέμψαντο καὶ Μάρκῳ Φουλουίῳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀνέθεντο. ὁ δὲ ἐς Ἀμβρακίαν τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον ὥρμησε μεγάλην οὖσαν (ἦν γάρ ποτε τοῦ Πύρρου βασίλειον, τότε δὲ κατείχετο πρὸς τῶν Αἰτωλῶν) καὶ ἐπολιόρκει αὐτήν· οἱ οὖν Αἰτωλοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης διειλέχθησαν· ὡς δ' οὐκ ἠθέλησε σπείσασθαι, μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀμβρακίαν εἰσέπεμψαν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι δι' ὑπονόμου τινὸς ἐπεχείρησαν τὴν πόλιν ἑλεῖν, καὶ διώρυσσον πόρρωθεν· καὶ τέως μὲν ἐλάνθανον τοὺς πολιορκουμένους, ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ χοῦς ἠθροίσθη, ὑπετόπησαν τὸ γινόμενον. ἀγνοοῦντες δ' ὅπῃ ὀρύσσοιτο, χαλκῆν ἀσπίδα κατὰ τὸν περίβολον πρὸς αὐτὸ ἐτίθουν τὸ δάπεδον· καὶ διὰ τῆς ἠχῆς τὸν τόπον γνόντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντώρυσσον ἔνδοθεν, καὶ πελάσαντες τοῖς Ῥω-

of Phrygia, Paphlagonia, Mysia adjacent to Olympus, and Cappadocia, and took up their residence in them; and they constitute to-day a separate nation bearing the name of Gauls [Galatians]. This people caused Manlius trouble, but he managed to overcome them also, capturing their city Ancyra by assault and gaining control of the rest of the towns by capitulation. After he had accomplished this and had received a large price for peace from Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he set sail for home.

21. The Aetolians, after sending ambassadors to Rome the second time in regard to peace, were themselves once more beginning a rebellion. Hence the Romans immediately dismissed their envoys and assigned Greece to Marcus Fulvius. He set out first for the large city of Ambracia, once the royal residence of Pyrrhus and now occupied by the Aetolians, and proceeded to besiege it. The Aetolians, accordingly, held a conference with him in regard to peace, but since he was unwilling to make terms, they sent a part of their army into Ambracia. The Romans now undertook to capture the town by an underground passage, beginning their mine at a remote point, and so for a time eluding the notice of the besieged; but the latter suspected the true state of affairs when the excavated earth began to accumulate. Since, however, they were not aware in what direction the tunnel was being dug, they proceeded to apply a bronze shield to the surface of the ground along the circuit of the wall. And discovering the place by means of the resonance they went to work in their turn to dig a tunnel from inside, and so approached the Romans, with

61 Ὅτι νεανίσκοι τινὲς Καρχηδονίων πρέσβεις ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθόντας[1] ὑβρίσαντες ἐπέμφθησαν μὲν ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα καὶ ἐξεδόθησάν σφισιν, οὐκ ἔπαθον δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν δεινὸν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀφείθησαν.—U^G 12 (p. 381).

64 Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς τρυφῆς τῆς Ἀσιανῆς γευσάμενοι, καὶ μετὰ τῆς τῶν λαφύρων περιουσίας τῆς τε παρὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐξουσίας ἐν τοῖς τῶν

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μαίοις ᾔεσαν εἰς μάχας κρυπτάς. τέλος δέ τι τοιοῦτον ἀντετεχνήσαντο. πίθον μέγαν πτίλων πληρώσαντες πῦρ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐνῆκαν, καὶ πῶμα χαλκοῦν αὐτῷ πολλαχῇ τετρημένον ἐνέθηκαν, καὶ εἰς τὸν ὑπόνομον τὸν πίθον κομίσαντες καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους τρέψαντες τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἀκροφύσιόν οἱ κατὰ τὸν πυθμένα ἐνέβαλον, καὶ τούτῳ φύσας προσφέροντες πλεῖστον καὶ δυσχερῆ καπνὸν οἷα ἐκ πτίλων ἐκθορεῖν ἐποίουν, ὃν οὐδεὶς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπέμενεν. ὅθεν ἀπογνόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐσπείσαντο καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν κατέλυσαν. ὁμολογησάντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ μετεβάλοντο· καὶ διεπράξαντο ἀνοχήν, εἶτα καὶ εἰρήνην παρὰ τοῦ δήμου, πολλὰ μὲν χρήματα, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ὁμήρους δόντες. καὶ ὁ Φουλούιος τὴν Κεφαλληνίαν ὁμολογίᾳ παρεστήσατο καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον στασιάζουσαν κατεστήσατο.

Γαΐου δὲ Φλαμινίου καὶ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου ὑπατευόντων μετέπειτα ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἔθανε, καὶ

[1] ἐλθόντας Wesseling, ἐλθόντες Mss.

Some youths who had insulted envoys of the Carthaginians when they came to Rome were sent to Carthage and delivered up to the people there; however, they received no injury at their hands, but were released. B.C. 188

The Romans, when they had had a taste of Asiatic luxury and had spent some time among the possessions of the vanquished amid the abundance of spoils B.C. 187

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whom they battled in the darkness. Finally they devised the following sort of defence. Filling a huge jar with feathers, they put fire in it and attached a bronze cover perforated with numerous holes. Then, after carrying the jar into the mine and turning the mouth of it toward the enemy, they inserted a bellows in the bottom, and by blowing this bellows vigorously they caused a tremendous amount of disagreeable smoke, such as feathers would naturally create, to pour forth, so that none of the Romans could endure it. Hence the Romans, in despair of success, made a truce and raised the siege. When these had reached an agreement, the Aetolians also changed their course. They secured an armistice and subsequently obtained peace from the people [at Rome] by the gift of considerable money and many hostages. Fulvius gained Cephallenia by capitulation and established order in the Peloponnesus, which was torn by dissension.

Afterwards, in the consulship of Gaius Flaminius and Aemilius Lepidus, Antiochus died and his son B.C. 187

ἡττηθέντων κτήμασιν ἐγχρονίσαντες, τήν[1] τε ἀσωτίαν αὐτῶν διὰ βραχέος ἐζήλωσαν, καὶ τὰ πάτρια ἔθη[2] οὐ διὰ μακροῦ κατεπάτησαν. οὕτω τὸ δεινὸν τοῦτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐνέπεσε.[3]—V. 55 (p. 609).

65 Ὅτι ὁ Γράκχος ἄλλως μὲν ἔκ τε τοῦ πλήθους ἦν καὶ ἐδημηγόρει δεινότατα, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὡμοιώθη Κάτωνι, ἀλλὰ καίπερ παλαιάν τινα πρὸς τοὺς Σκιπίωνας ἔχθραν ἔχων οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ καὶ ἀπελογήσατο ἐρήμην κατηγορηθέντος, ὅπως τε μηδεμίαν κηλῖδα λάβῃ διεσπούδαστο,[4] τόν τε Ἀσιατικὸν ἐκώλυσεν ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἐμβληθῆναι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα αὐτῷ οἱ Σκιπίωνες τήν τε ἔχθραν κατέλυσαν καὶ κῆδος συνῆψαν· τὴν γὰρ θυγατέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς συνῴκισεν.—V. 56 (p. 610).

2 Δίων ιθ' βιβλίῳ "ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ὧς περιῆν αὐτοῖς τῆς σχολῆς, τὰς ὁδοὺς δι' αὐτῶν κατεσκευάσαντο."—Bekk. Anecd. 166, 14; cf. 166, 3.

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αὐτὸν ὁ υἱὸς ὁ Σέλευκος διεδέξατο· τελευτήσαντος δὲ κἀκείνου πολλῷ ὕστερον ὁ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὁμηρεύων Ἀντίοχος ἐβασίλευσεν. ὁ δέ γε Φίλιππος ἐτόλμησε μὲν νεωτερίσαι ὅτι πόλεών τινων ἐστερήθη ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ καὶ πρὸς ταῖσδε καὶ Αἴνου καὶ Μαρωνείας, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη δὲ διὰ τὸ γῆρας καὶ διὰ τὰ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας συνενεχθέντα αὐτῷ. καὶ Γαλάται τινὲς τὰς Ἄλπεις

[1] τήν Rk., καὶ τήν Ms. [2] ἔθη St., ἤθη Ms. [3] ἐνέπεσε Rk., ἔπεσε Ms. [4] διεσπούδαστο Val., διὰ ἐσπούδατο Ms.

and the licence granted by success in arms, rapidly came to emulate the prodigality of these peoples and ere long to trample under foot their own ancestral traditions. Thus this terrible influence, starting in that quarter, invaded the city as well.

Gracchus was thoroughly a man of the people and a very eloquent public speaker, yet his disposition was very different from Cato's. For, although he had an enmity of long standing against the Scipios, he did not acquiesce in what was taking place, but spoke in defence of Africanus, who was accused while absent, and he exerted himself to prevent any stain from attaching to his name; he also prevented the imprisonment of Asiaticus. Consequently the Scipios gave up their enmity toward him and arranged a family alliance, Africanus bestowing upon him his own daughter.

Dio, Book XIX. "When even thus they [the troops] still had leisure, [the consuls] had the roads built by them."[1]

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Seleucus succeeded him. Much later, at the demise of Seleucus, the Antiochus who was living as a hostage in Rome became king. And Philip under- B.C. 185
took to revolt because he had been deprived of some towns in Thessaly and of Aenus and Maronea besides; but he was unable to do so because of his age and of what had happened to his sons. And some Gauls B.C. 183

[1] Refers to the extension of the Via Flaminia from Ariminum to Placentia by the soldiers of Flaminius and Aemilius, consuls of 187 B.C. Cf. Livy 39, 2, 6, 10.

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ὑπερβάντες πόλιν ἐντὸς αὐτῶν κτίσαι ἠθέλησαν. ὧν ὁ Μάρκος ὁ Μάρκελλος τά τε ὅπλα ἀφείλετο καὶ τἄλλα ὅσα ἐπεκομίζοντο· οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πρεσβευσαμένοις σφίσιν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῆσαι πάντα ἀπέδωκαν.

Τότε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπέθανε. πρέσβεων γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Προυσίαν τὸν τῆς Βιθυνίας κρατοῦντα πεμφθέντων ἐκ Ῥώμης δι' ἄλλα τέ τινα καὶ ὅπως καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκδοίη παρ' αὐτῷ ὄντα, προμαθὼν τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος καὶ διαδρᾶναι μὴ οἷός τε ὢν ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο. χρησμοῦ δέ ποτε αὐτῷ γενομένου ἐν γῇ Λιβύσσῃ τεθνήξεσθαι, ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τῇ Λιβύῃ προσεδόκα θανεῖν, ἔτυχε δὲ θνήσκων ἐν χωρίῳ τινὶ τυγχάνων καλουμένῳ Λιβύσσῃ. καὶ ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς δὲ Σκιπίων τότε μετήλλαξε.

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 798–805.

Αὐτὸς δὲ φάρμακον πιὼν θνήσκει πρὸς Βιθυνίαν | πρός τι χωρίον Λίβυσσαν καλούμενον τῇ κλήσει | δοκῶν θανεῖν εἰς Λίβυσσαν πατρίδα τὴν οἰκείαν. | ἦν γὰρ Ἀννίβᾳ τις χρησμὸς οὕτω που γεγραμμένος· | Λίβυσσα κρύψει βῶλος Ἀννίβα δέμας. | ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ δ' ὕστερον Ῥωμαίων ὁ Σεβῆρος | ἐκ γένους ὢν τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ λευκῆς μαρμάρου τάφῳ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον τέθεικεν, τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀννίβαν.

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crossed the Alps and desired to found a city to the south of the mountains. Marcus Marcellus took away their arms and everything that they had brought along; but the people at Rome, upon receiving an embassy from them, restored everything on condition that they should at once retire.

At this time also occurred the death of Hannibal. Envoys had been sent from Rome to Prusias, monarch of Bithynia, a part of whose errand was to get him to give up Hannibal, who was at his court. But Hannibal learned of this beforehand, and being unable to escape, committed suicide. An oracle had once announced to him that he should die in the Libyssan [1] [or Libyan] land, and he was expecting to die in Libya, his native country; but, as it happened, his death occurred while he was staying in a certain place called Libyssa. Scipio Africanus also died at this time.

Tzetzes, Chil. 1, 798–805.

He himself [Hannibal] died by drinking poison near Bithynia in a place called Libyssa by name, though he expected to die in his own Libyan land. For an oracle had once been written out for Hannibal to the following effect: "A Libyssan [1] [or Libyan] clod shall hide the form of Hannibal." Later the Roman Emperor Severus, being of Libyan birth, placed in a tomb of white marble this man, the general Hannibal.

[1] Gr. *Libyssa* usually is the feminine adjective = Libyan, and Libya is Zonaras' usual word for Africa.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XX

Zonaras 9, 22.

22. Φίλιππος δὲ ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς, τὸν υἱὸν Δημήτριον ἀποκτείνας καὶ τὸν ἕτερον υἱὸν τὸν Περσέα μελλήσας φονεύσειν, ἀπέθανεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ προσφιλὴς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ τῆς ὁμηρείας ἐγένετο ὁ Δημήτριος, καὶ αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἤλπιζον ὅτι μετὰ τὸν Φίλιππον τὴν βασιλείαν λήψεται, ἐφθόνησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Περσεύς, ἅτε καὶ πρεσβύτερος αὐτοῦ ὤν, καὶ διέβαλεν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα τῷ πατρί. καὶ ὁ μὲν φάρμακον πιεῖν ἀναγκασθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν, ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τὸ ἀληθὲς γνοὺς ἀμύνασθαι τὸν Περσέα ἠθέλησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλ' αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Περσεὺς διεδέξατο. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ταύτην τε αὐτῷ ἐβεβαίωσαν καὶ τὴν πατρῴαν φιλίαν ἀνενεώσαντο.

Ἐν δὲ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνοις συνηνέχθησαν μέν τινα, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀναγκαῖα πάνυ ὥστε καὶ συγγραφῆς νομίζεσθαι ἄξια. ὕστερον δὲ ὁ Περσεὺς πολέμιον ἑαυτὸν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησεν. ἵνα δὲ ἀναβολὴν τοῦ πολέμου σχοίη μέχρις ἂν παρασκευάσηται, πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν ἀπολογησομένους τάχα περὶ ὧν ἐνεκαλεῖτο. οὓς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οὔτ' εἴσω τοῦ τείχους

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22. Philip, king of Macedonia, had put to death his son Demetrius and was about to slay his other son Perseus, when death overtook him. For because B.C. 179
Demetrius had gained the affection of the Roman people through his sojourn as hostage and hoped, along with the rest of the Macedonian people, that he should secure the kingdom after Philip's death, Perseus, who was his elder, had become jealous of him and falsely reported him to be plotting against his father. Thus Demetrius was forced to drink poison and died. Philip not long afterward ascertained the truth, and desired to take vengeance upon Perseus; but he did not possess sufficient strength, and not only did he die himself, but Perseus succeeded to the kingdom. The Romans confirmed his claims to it and renewed the compact of friendship made with his father.

In the period following this some events took place, to be sure, yet they were not of such great importance as to seem worthy of record. Still later B.C. 172
Perseus became hostile to the Romans, and in order to delay actual warfare until he should have made his preparations, he sent envoys to Rome nominally to present his answer to the charges which were being brought against him. These messengers the Romans would not receive within the wall; and

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ἐδέξαντο, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος αὐτοῖς χρηματίσαντες οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο ἕτερον ἢ ὅτι ὕπατον πέμψουσι πρὸς ὃν ὅσα βούλεται διαλεχθήσεται. καὶ αὐθημερὸν αὐτοὺς ἀπιέναι ἐποίησαν, δόντες σφίσι καὶ ἀγωγοὺς ὥστε μή τινι συγγένωνται· καὶ τῷ Περσεῖ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιβαίνειν τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀπειρήκασιν.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ ταῦτα Γναῖον Σικίννιον στρατηγὸν μετὰ δυνάμεως ὀλίγης ἐξέπεμψαν (οὐ γάρ πω τὴν μείζω παρεσκευάσαντο), καὶ ὁ Περσεὺς εἰς Θεσσαλίαν παρεμβάλλων τά γε πλεῖστα αὐτῆς ᾠκειώσατο· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἔαρ ἐπέστη, πέμπουσιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν Λικίννιον Κράσσον, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ Γάιον Λουκρήτιον. συμμίξας οὖν πρῶτον περὶ Λάρισαν τῷ Περσεῖ ἐν ἱππομαχίᾳ ἔπταισεν· ὕστερον μέντοι περιεγένετο, ὥστε καὶ ἀναχωρῆσαι τὸν Περσέα εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν. ὁ Κράσσος δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ταῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου κατεχομέναις προσέβαλε, καὶ τῶν μὲν πλειόνων ἀπεκρούσθη, ἔστι δ᾽ ἃς ἐχειρώσατο καί τινας κατασκάψας τοὺς ἁλόντας ἀπέδοτο. ἅπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πυθόμενοι ἠγανάκτησαν, καὶ τόν τε Κράσσον ὕστερον ἐζημίωσαν χρήμασι καὶ τὰς ἑαλωκυίας πόλεις ἠλευθέρωσαν καὶ τοὺς πραθέντας ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ εὑρεθέντας τότε παρὰ τῶν ἐωνημένων αὐτοὺς ἐξεπρίαντο.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔπραξαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸς τὸν Περσέα πολέμῳ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἠτύχησαν, καὶ πολλαχόθι ἐπόνησε τὰ αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁ Περσεὺς τῆς Ἠπείρου καὶ τῆς

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although they gave them a hearing in the space before the city, they returned no other answer than that they would send a consul with whom he might confer on whatever topics he pleased. They also caused them to depart the same day, after giving them guides to prevent their associating with anybody. And Perseus was forbidden for the future to set foot on the soil of Italy.

The Romans later sent out Gnaeus Sicinius, a praetor, with a small force, as they had not yet made ready their greater armament; and Perseus made an invasion of Thessaly, in which he won over the greater part of that country. When spring opened, they sent Licinius Crassus against him, as well as a praetor, Gaius Lucretius, in charge of the fleet. Crassus first encountered Perseus near Larissa and was worsted in a cavalry skirmish; later, however, he got the best of him, and Perseus accordingly retreated into Macedonia. Crassus meanwhile assailed the Greek cities which were held in subjection by Philip and was repulsed from the majority of them, although he got possession of a few and razed some of them to the ground, selling the captives. When the people in Rome learned of this, they became indignant, and later they imposed a fine on Crassus, liberated the captured cities, and bought back from the purchasers such of their inhabitants as had been sold and were then found in Italy. B.C. 171

Thus the Romans fared in these undertakings; but in the war against Perseus they suffered many severe reverses and their fortunes at many points were at a low ebb. Perseus occupied the greater

66 Ὅτι ὁ Περσεὺς παντελῶς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκ

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Θεσσαλίας κατέσχε τὰ πλείονα. τήν τε γὰρ ἄλλην συνεκρότησε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας τῶν Ῥωμαίων φάλαγγα ὁπλιτῶν ἠσκήκει, ὀξέσιν ἥλοις τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ τὰ κράνη σιδηρώσας αὐτῶν. ὅπως δὲ μήτε τοῖς ἵπποις φοβεροὶ εἶεν, εἴδωλα ἐλεφάντων σκευάσας δεινὴν μὲν ὑπὸ χρίσματός τινος ὀσμὴν ἔχοντα, φοβερὰ δὲ καὶ ὀφθῆναι καὶ ἀκουσθῆναι ὄντα (βροντώδη γὰρ ἠφίει ἠχήν τινα ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως), πρὸς ἐκεῖνα προσῆγεν αὐτοὺς συνεχῶς, μέχρις οὗ καὶ ἐθάρσησαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Περσεὺς μέγα ἐκ τούτων ἐκέκτητο φρόνημα καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπεροίσειν ἐπήλπισεν, οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταῦτα μαθόντες τὸν Μάρκιον Φίλιππον ὑπατεύοντα σπουδῇ ἐξέπεμψαν. καὶ ὃς εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τούς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐξήσκει, ὥστε δείσαντα τὸν Περσέα ἐν τῷ Δίῳ[1] τῷ Μακεδονικῷ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς Τέμπεσιν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ τὰ στενὰ τηρεῖν. θαρσήσας δὲ διὰ ταῦτα ὁ Φίλιππος διὰ μέσων ὀρῶν ὑπερέβαλε καί τινα τοῦ Περσέως κατέσχε. προϊὼν δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Πύδνης τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐσπάνισε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ἀνέστρεψε. καὶ αὖθις ὁ Περσεὺς ἀνεθάρσησε καὶ ἃ κατέσχεν ὁ Φίλιππος ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ συχνὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐλύπει, συμμάχους τε προσηγάγετο καὶ πάντῃ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἤλπισεν ἐκβαλεῖν.

[1] Δίῳ Wolf, ἰδίῳ Mss.

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PERSEUS hoped to eject the Romans from Greece B.C. 169

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part of Epirus and Thessaly, having gathered a large body of troops. As a special measure of defence against the Romans' elephants he had a trained phalanx of heavy-armed warriors whose shields and helmets he had had studded with sharp iron nails. Also, in order to make sure that the beasts should not prove a source of terror to the horses, he constructed images of elephants and smeared them with some kind of ointment to give them a dreadful odour. They were terrible both to see and to hear, since they were skilfully arranged to emit a roar resembling thunder; and he would repeatedly lead the horses up to these figures until they gained courage. Perseus, then, as a result of all this had acquired great confidence and even hoped to surpass Alexander in glory and in the size of his domain; and the people of Rome, when they learned this, speedily sent out Marcius Philippus, who was consul. He, on reaching the camp in Thessaly, went to B.C. 169 drilling the Romans and the allies, so that Perseus became afraid, and remained quiet at Dium in Macedonia, near Tempe, and kept watch of the pass. Philippus, encouraged by this behaviour of his, crossed over the middle of the mountain range and occupied some possessions of Perseus. But as he was advancing toward Pydna he fell short of provisions and turned back to Thessaly. Perseus now gained courage anew, recovered the places that Philippus had occupied, and with his fleet caused the Romans numerous injuries. He also secured allies and hoped to eject the Romans from Greece alto-

τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐκβαλεῖν ἤλπισεν, τῇ δὲ πολλῇ καὶ ἀκαίρῳ φειδωλίᾳ καὶ τῇ δι' αὐτὴν τῶν συμμάχων ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἀσθενὴς αὖθις ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τά τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπεδίδου καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου[1] ἐπηύξετο, κατεφρόνησεν ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν συμμαχικῶν δεόμενος, ἀλλ' ἤτοι καὶ προῖκά οἱ αὐτῶν βοηθησόντων, ἢ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν κρατήσων, καὶ οὔτε τῷ Εὐμενεῖ οὔτε τῷ Γεντίῳ τὰ χρήματα ἃ ὑπέσχητο[2] ἀπέδωκε, νομίσας οἰκείαν αὐτοὺς αἰτίαν ἔχθρας πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔχειν. τούτων τε οὖν καὶ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐντελῆ τὸν μισθὸν ἐλάμβανον) ἀπροθύμων γενομένων ἐς τοσοῦτο αὖθις ἀπογνώσεως ἀφίκετο ὥστε καὶ σπονδῶν δεηθῆναι.—V. 57 (p. 610).

2 Ὅτι ὁ Περσεὺς σπονδῶν ἐδεήθη παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, κἂν ἔτυχεν αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ οἱ Ῥόδιοι συνε-

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τῇ δὲ πολλῇ καὶ ἀκαίρῳ φειδωλίᾳ καὶ τῇ δι' αὐτὴν τῶν συμμάχων ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἀσθενὴς αὖθις ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπεδίδου, τὰ δ' ἐκείνου ἐπηύξετο, κατεφρόνησεν ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν συμμάχων δεόμενος, καὶ οὐκ ἐδίδου χρήματα σφίσιν ἃ ἐπηγγείλατο. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἀμβλυνθέντων τὸ πρόθυμον, τῶν δὲ καὶ τέλεον αὐτὸν ἐκλιπόντων, τοσοῦτον ἀπέγνω ὥστε καὶ σπονδῶν δεηθῆναι. καὶ κἂν ἔτυχε τούτων διὰ τοῦ Εὐμενοῦς, εἰ μὴ καὶ Ῥόδιοι συνεπρέσβευσαν· ὑπερηφάνως γὰρ

[1] ἐκείνου Reim., ἐκείνων Ms.
[2] ὑπέσχητο Bk., ὑπέσχετο Ms.

completely, but through his excessive and inopportune parsimony and the consequent contempt of his allies he became weak once more. For when the Roman influence was declining and his own was increasing, he became filled with scorn and thought he had no further need of his allies, but believed that either they would assist him free of cost or he could prevail by himself. Hence he paid neither Eumenes nor Gentius the money that he had promised, thinking that they had reasons of their own for enmity toward the Romans. These princes, therefore, and the Thracians, who also were not receiving their full pay, became indifferent; and Perseus fell into such depths of despair again that he even sued for peace.

Perseus sued for peace at the hands of the Romans, and would have obtained it but for the presence in

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gether, but through his excessive and inopportune parsimony and the consequent contempt of his allies he became weak once more. For as soon as the Roman influence was declining and his own was increasing, he became filled with scorn and thought he had no further need of his allies, and would not give them the money which he had offered. The zeal of some, accordingly, became damped and others abandoned him entirely, whereupon he was so overwhelmed by despair that he even sued for peace. And he would have obtained it through Eumenes but for the presence of Rhodians also in the embassy.

πρέσβευσαν αὐτῷ δέει τοῦ μὴ Ῥωμαίοις τὸν ἀντίπαλον ὑπεξαιρεθῆναι. μέτριον μὲν γὰρ οὐδέν, οἷα δεομένους εἰκὸς ἦν εἰπεῖν, ἔλεξαν· καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης οὐκ αἰτηταὶ μᾶλλον τῷ Περσεῖ ἢ δόται ὄντες, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ὑπερήφανα διελέχθησαν, καὶ τέλος ἠπείλησαν τοῖς αἰτίοις τοῦ μὴ συμβῆναί σφας γενομένοις μετὰ τῶν ἑτέρων πολεμήσειν. κἀκ τούτου οὐδὲ τὸ πρὶν ἀνύποπτοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντες μᾶλλον διεβλήθησαν, καὶ τὸν Περσέα τῶν σπονδῶν τυχεῖν ἐκώλυσαν.—U[G] 13 (p. 382). Cf. Suid. *s.v.* αἰτηταί.

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οὗτοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διαλεχθέντες τυχεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκώλυσαν τῶν σπονδῶν.

23. Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ κατ' αὐτοῦ πόλεμος Παύλῳ ἀνετέθη τῷ Αἰμιλίῳ τὸ δεύτερον ὑπατεύοντι. ὃς σπουδῇ κομισθεὶς εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν προκαταστησάμενος, βιασάμενος διὰ τῶν Τεμπῶν (ὀλίγοι γὰρ ἐφρούρουν αὐτά), ἐπὶ τὸν Περσέα ὥρμησεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνος τὸν Ἔλπιον ποταμὸν προσαπέφραξεν ὄντα ἐν μέσῳ, προκαταλαβὼν δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Ὀλύμπου καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης αἱμασιαῖς καὶ σταυρώμασι καὶ οἰκοδομήμασιν ἄπορον ἀπειργάσατο, ἐθάρρει δὲ καὶ τῇ ἀνυδρίᾳ τοῦ τόπου, ἐπείρασε μὲν καὶ οὕτως ὁ ὕπατος διελθεῖν, καὶ

his embassy of the Rhodians, who joined it through fear that the Romans' rival might be destroyed. Their language had none of the moderation which it was fitting for petitioners to employ, and they talked as if they were not so much asking peace for Perseus as bestowing it, and adopted a very arrogant tone generally; finally they threatened those who should be responsible for their failing to come to an agreement, declaring that they would fight with the others against them. Even before this time they had not been free from suspicion on the part of the Romans, and by their present conduct they made themselves more hated than ever; thus they prevented Perseus from obtaining peace.

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These, by adopting an arrogant tone with the Romans, prevented him from obtaining peace.

23. At this point the war against him was entrusted to Aemilius Paulus, now for the second time consul. B.C. 168 He quickly reached Thessaly, and having first restored discipline among the soldiers, forced his way through Tempe, which was being guarded by only a few men, and marched against Perseus. The latter had erected breastworks along the river Elpeus, which lay between the armies, had occupied and rendered impassable by means of stone walls and palisades and buildings all the ground between Olympus and the sea, and was encouraged by the lack of water in the place. Yet even so the consul attempted to effect a passage, and he found a means of remedying

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τῆς ἀνυδρίας ἐπορίσατο ἐπικούρημα. διαμησάμενος γὰρ τὴν ἐν τῇ ὑπωρείᾳ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ἄμμον ὕδωρ εὗρε δαψιλές τε καὶ πότιμον. κἀν τούτῳ τῶν Ῥοδίων πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς θρασύτητος ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πρὶν ἐπρεσβεύσαντο. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν εἰπὼν πλέον αὐτοῖς ἢ ὅτι μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἀπόκρισιν δώσει, ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτούς. ὡς δὲ προσβάλλων οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν, ἔμαθε δὲ τὰ ὄρη ὄντα που πορεύσιμα, μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν δυσπροσοδωτέραν αὐτῶν ὑπερβολὴν ἔπεμψε, καταληψόμενον τὰ ταύτῃ ἐπίκαιρα (διὰ γὰρ τὸ δυσπρόσιτον καὶ ἐλαχίστην εἶχε φρουράν), αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ λοιπῷ τοῦ στρατεύματος προσέμιξε τῷ Περσεῖ, ἵνα μή τι ὑποτοπήσας φυλακὴν τῶν ὀρῶν ἀκριβεστέραν ποιήσαιτο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καταληφθέντων τῶν ἄκρων νυκτὸς πρὸς τὰ ὄρη ὥρμησε, καὶ πῇ μὲν λαθών, πῇ δὲ βιασάμενος ὑπερέβαλεν αὐτά. ὃ μαθὼν ὁ Περσεύς, καὶ δείσας μὴ κατὰ νώτου αὐτῷ προσπέσῃ ἢ καὶ τὴν Πύδναν προκατάσχῃ (καὶ γὰρ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἅμα τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρέπλει), τό τε ἔρυμα τὸ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ ἐξέλιπε, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Πύδναν ἐπειχθεὶς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. καὶ ἦλθε μὲν καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ἐκεῖ, οὐ μέντοι καὶ παραχρῆμα προσέμιξαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διέτριψαν οὐκ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας. προμαθὼν δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ὡς ἡ σελήνη ἐκλείψειν μέλλει, συνηθροίκει πρὸς ἑσπέραν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅτε τὴν ἔκλειψιν γενέσθαι ἐχρῆν, καὶ προεῖπε τὸ συμβησόμενον, καὶ μή τι διὰ τοῦτο ταραχθῆναι παρῄ-

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the lack of water; for by piercing the sand bed at the foot of Olympus he found an abundant supply suitable for drinking. Meanwhile envoys of the Rhodians came to him, animated by the same boldness which they had displayed on their former embassy to Rome. But he made no statement to them beyond saying that he would return an answer in a few days, and dismissed them. Now when he could accomplish nothing by direct assault, but learned that the mountains were passable in places, he sent a portion of his army toward that pass across them which was the most difficult of approach, to seize opportune points along the route,—for on account of the difficulty of access it had an extremely small guard,—while he himself with the remainder of his army attacked Perseus, so that the latter might not become suspicious and guard the mountains with greater care. Afterwards, when the heights had been occupied, he set out by night for the mountains, and by passing unnoticed at some points and employing force at others he got across. Perseus on learning of this became afraid that the enemy might assail him from the rear, or even seize Pydna, since the Roman fleet was at the same time sailing along the coast; and he accordingly abandoned his fortification near the river, and hastening to Pydna, encamped in front of the town. Paulus, too, came there, but instead of beginning an engagement immediately they delayed for a good many days. Paulus had learned beforehand that the moon was going to be eclipsed, and so, assembling his army on the evening when the eclipse was due to occur, he gave the men notice of what would happen and warned them not to let it disturb

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νεσεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἔκλειψιν θεασάμενοι οὐδὲν κακὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς ὑπετόπησαν, οἱ δέ γε Μακεδόνες δέος ἔσχον ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐς τὸν Περσέα τὸ τέρας τείνειν ἐνόμισαν. οὕτω δ' ἑκατέρων ἐχόντων συμβάν τι κατὰ τύχην τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ συνέρρηξεν αὐτοὺς εἰς μάχην ἀκήρυκτον καὶ τέλος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπέθηκεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὑποζύγιόν τι τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ εἰσέπεσεν ἐξ οὗπερ ὑδρεύοντο, καὶ οἵ τε Μακεδόνες αὐτοῦ ἐπελάβοντο καὶ οἱ ὑδροφόροι ἀντείχοντο, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὗτοι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐμαχέσαντο, ἔπειτα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπικουροῦντες τοῖς οἰκείοις κατ' ὀλίγους ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐξῄεσαν, καὶ πάντες συνέμιξαν ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν. καὶ μάχης ἀσυντάκτου μέν, ὀξείας δὲ γενομένης, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκράτησαν, καὶ καταδιώξαντες τοὺς Μακεδόνας μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτοὶ ἐφόνευσαν, πολλοὺς δὲ τῷ ναυτικῷ προσπλεύσαντι ἀποκτεῖναι παρέδοσαν. οὐδ' ἄν τις ὑπελείφθη αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ νὺξ αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθησε· περὶ δείλην γὰρ ὀψίαν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο.

Διαφυγὼν οὖν εἰς Ἀμφίπολιν ὁ Περσεὺς ὡς τούς τε περιλιπεῖς ἀναληψόμενος καὶ συστήσων αὖθις τὰ πράγματα, ἐπεὶ οὔτ' ἦλθόν τινες πρὸς αὐτὸν πλὴν μισθοφόρων Κρητῶν καὶ τὴν Πύδναν ἄλλας τε πόλεις τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ᾑρῆσθαι ἔμαθε, κἀκεῖθεν μετέστη καὶ εἰς πλοῖα τὰ χρήματα ὅσα ἐπήγετο θέμενος νυκτὸς ἐς Σαμοθρᾴκην ἀπέπλευσε. καὶ πυθόμενος οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τὸν Ὀκταούιον, ὃς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ προΐστατο, προσπλέοντα, καὶ τὸν Παῦλον ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν παρόντα, ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ συμβῆναι δεόμενος.

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them at all. Accordingly the Romans on beholding the eclipse looked for no evil to come from it; but the Macedonians were in fear because of it and thought that the prodigy referred to Perseus. While each side was in this frame of mind an accidental occurrence the next day forced them into an unpremeditated battle and put an end to the war. One of the Romans' pack-animals fell into the water from which they were getting their supply, whereupon the Macedonians laid hold of him and the water-carriers offered resistance. At first they fought by themselves; then the other troops also gradually issued from their respective camps to the assistance of their own men, and everybody on both sides became engaged. A disordered but sharp conflict ensued, in which the Romans were victorious; and pursuing the Macedonians as far as the sea, they slaughtered numbers of them themselves and allowed the fleet, which was drawing inshore, to slay many more. Indeed, not one of them would have been left alive had not night come to their aid; for the battle occurred during the late afternoon.

Perseus consequently made his escape to Amphipolis, where he intended to rally the survivors and reorganize the campaign; but as nobody came to him but Cretan mercenaries and he learned that Pydna and other cities had chosen the Roman side, he moved on from there also, and after putting aboard some vessels all the money that he was carrying he sailed away by night to Samothrace. Before long he ascertained that Octavius was approaching at the head of his fleet and that Paulus had arrived at Amphipolis; so he sent him a letter expressing a

3 Ὅτι ὁ Περσεὺς ἐν Σαμοθρᾴκῃ ὢν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ ἐξαιτηθεὶς Εὔανδρόν τινα, γένος μὲν Κρῆτα, πιστότατον δὲ[1] ὄντα καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπουργηκότα καὶ τὴν τοῦ Εὐμενοῦς ἐπιβουλὴν τὴν ἐν τοῖς Δελφοῖς γενομένην συνεσκευακότα, οὐκ ἐξέδωκε μέν,[2] φοβηθεὶς μὴ κατείπῃ ὅσα αὐτῷ συνῄδει, λάθρᾳ δὲ ἀποκτείνας διέδωκε[3] λόγον ὅτι ἑαυτὸν προαπεχρήσατο. οἱ δὲ συνόντες οἱ φοβηθέντες τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοῦ

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καὶ ἐπεὶ βασιλέα ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ὠνόμασεν, οὐδ' ἀποκρίσεως ἔτυχεν. ὕστερον δὲ ἄνευ τινὸς τοιαύτης προσρήσεως ἐπιστείλαντος προσεδέξατο μὲν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν σπονδῶν λόγον, οὐκ ἄλλως μέντοι συμβήσεσθαι ἔφη εἰ μὴ καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πάντα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέψειε. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα οὐ συνέβησαν. μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἐξαιτηθεὶς παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων Εὔανδρόν τινα Κρῆτα πολλὰ κατ' αὐτῶν ὑπουργηκότα καὶ πιστότατον αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἐξέδωκε μέν, φοβηθεὶς μὴ κατείπῃ ὅσα αὐτῷ συνῄδει, λάθρᾳ δὲ αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνας ἑαυτὸν διαχειρίσασθαι ἐφήμισε. τότε μὲν οὖν οἱ συνόντες αὐτῷ φοβηθέντες τὴν ἀπι-

[1] δὲ Val., τε Ms. [2] μέν inserted by Bk.
[3] διέδωκε Val., δέδωκε Ms.

BOOK XX

When Perseus was in the temple at Samothrace, a demand was made upon him for the surrender of one Evander, of Cretan stock, a most faithful follower who had assisted him in many other schemes against the Romans and had helped to concoct the plot carried out at Delphi against Eumenes. Perseus, fearing that he might declare all the intrigues to which he had been privy, did not deliver him up, but secretly slew him and spread the report that he had made away with himself before he could be apprehended. The associates of Perseus, fearing his B.C. 168

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desire to come to terms. But since he styled himself king in the letter, he did not even get an answer. Subsequently he sent a letter without any such title in it; and Paulus entertained his plea for peace, but declared that he would make terms only on condition that Perseus entrusted himself and all his possessions to the Romans' keeping. Hence they failed to come to an agreement. After this a demand was made upon Perseus by the Romans for the surrender of one Evander, a Cretan, who had assisted him in many schemes against them and was most faithful to him. Perseus, fearing that he might declare all the intrigues to which he had been privy, did not deliver him up, but secretly slew him and spread the report that he had perished by his own hand. Then the associates of Perseus, fearing his treachery,

καὶ τὴν μιαιφονίαν μεθίστασθαι ἤρξαντο.—V. 58 (p. 610).

4 Ὅτι ὁ Περσεὺς ἐθελοντὴς εὑρέθη, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ἀχθέντα ὁ Παῦλος οὐδὲν οὔτε ἔργῳ οὔτε λόγῳ δεινὸν ἔδρασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσιόντι οἱ ὑπαναστάς τά τε ἄλλα ἐδεξιώσατο καὶ ὁμόσιτον ἐποιήσατο, ἔν τε φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ καὶ ἐν θεραπείᾳ πολλῇ ἦγε.—V. 59 (p. 613).

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στίαν αὐτοῦ (οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόησαν τὸ γενόμενον), μεθίστασθαι ἤρξαντο. κἀκεῖνος δείσας μὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παραδοθῇ, ἐκδρᾶναι νυκτὸς ἐπεχείρησε. καὶ ἔλαθεν ἂν πρὸς Κότυν Θρᾷκα δυνάστην κομισθείς, εἰ μὴ οἱ Κρῆτες αὐτὸν ἐγκατέλιπον· ἐνθέμενοι γὰρ τὰ χρήματα εἰς τὰ πλοῖα οἴκαδε ἀπῆραν. ὁ δὲ ἡμέρας μέν τινας αὐτοῦ μετὰ Φιλίππου ἑνὸς τῶν υἱέων κρυπτόμενος ἔλαθεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους παῖδας καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν ἔγνω κατεσχηκότα τὸν Ὀκταούιον, εὑρέθη ἐθελοντής. καὶ ἀχθέντα εἰς τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν οὐδὲν ὁ Παῦλος ἐκάκωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδεξιώσατο καὶ ὁμόσιτον ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἐν ἀδέσμῳ φυλακῇ ἐτήρει καὶ ἐν θεραπείᾳ ἦγε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διὰ τῆς Ἠπείρου ἀνεκομίσθη.[1]

24. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ Λούκιος Ἀνίκιος στρατηγὸς πεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Γέντιον τοὺς προσμίξαντάς τε αὐτῷ ἐνίκησε καὶ τὸν Γέντιον φυγόντα ἐπιδιώξας ἐς Σκόδραν[2] κατέ-

[1] There follow in Zonaras several lines taken from Plutarch.
[2] Σκόδραν Wolf, κοδρὰν Mss.

treachery and blood-guiltiness, then began to desert him.

Perseus allowed himself to be discovered, and he was brought to Amphipolis. Paulus accorded him no harsh treatment in deed or word, but on the contrary rose at his approach, welcomed him in other ways, and let him sit at his table; he kept him in honourable confinement and treated him with great consideration.

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since they were not ignorant of what had occurred, began to desert him. Perseus, in dread of being delivered up to the Romans, tried to escape at night by flight, and would have gotten away unobserved to Cotys, a Thracian prince, but for the fact that the Cretans abandoned him; for after placing the money in boats they sailed off home. So he remained there for some days in concealment with Philip, one of his sons, but on ascertaining that the rest of his children and his retinue had fallen into the hands of Octavius, he allowed himself to be discovered. When he was brought to Amphipolis, Paulus did him no injury, but welcomed him and let him sit at his table; he kept him in honourable confinement and treated him with consideration. After this Paulus returned through Epirus to Italy.

24. At this same time Lucius Anicius, a praetor, sent to conduct operations against Gentius, not only conquered those who withstood him but also pursued Gentius, when he fled to Scodra, where his

Zonaras 9, 24.

κλεισεν, ὅπου ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ βασίλεια. καὶ διακενῆς ἂν προσήδρευεν αὐτῇ (ἐπὶ γὰρ ἀκρωνυχίας ὄρους πεπόλισται καὶ φάραγξι βαθείαις ποταμοὺς ῥοώδεις ἐχούσαις περιειλεῖται, τείχει τε ὀχυρῷ περιέζωσται), εἰ μὴ ὁ Γέντιος μέγα ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει ἐλπίσας ἑκὼν εἰς μάχην ἐχώρησε. κἀκ τούτου τήν τε ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ὁ Ἀνίκιος προσηγάγετο καὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἠπείρου προελθών, πρὶν τὸν Παῦλον ἐλθεῖν, κἀκείνην ταραττομένην ἡμέρωσεν.

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἔμαθον μὲν τὴν τοῦ Παύλου νίκην τετάρτῃ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἡμέρᾳ ἔκ τινος φήμης, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστευον. εἶτα γραμμάτων ὑπὲρ ταύτης κομισθέντων τοῦ Παύλου, ὑπερήσθησαν, καὶ οὐχ ὡς τὸν Περσέα νενικηκότες καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν κτησάμενοι, ἀλλ' ὡς τὸν Φίλιππον ἐκεῖνον τὸν πάνυ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον μετὰ πάσης τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης ἣν ἔσχηκε νικήσαντες ἐσεμνύνοντο. ἐλθόντι δ' ἐς Ῥώμην τῷ Παύλῳ πολλὰ ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ ἡ πομπὴ τῶν νικητηρίων αὐτῷ λαμπροτάτη ἐγένετο. ἔπεμψε μὲν γὰρ καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα ἑαλώκει πάντα, ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ Βίθυν τὸν τοῦ Κότυος υἱόν, τόν τε Περσέα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ τούς τε παῖδας τρεῖς ὄντας ἐν τῷ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων σχήματι. δείσας δὲ διὰ τὴν τῆς εὐτυχίας ὑπερβολὴν μή τι νεμεσήσῃ αὐτοῖς τὸ δαιμόνιον, ηὔξατο καὶ οὗτος κατὰ τὸν Κάμιλλον μή τι κακὸν τῇ πόλει ἐκ τούτων, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ, εἴ τι δέοι, γενήσεσθαι· καὶ δύο υἱεῖς, τὸν μὲν πρὸ τοῦ θριάμβου μικρόν, τὸν δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῶν ἐπινικίων

palace was, and shut him up there. The city was built on the summit of a mountain and had deep ravines with rushing torrents winding about it, besides being surrounded by a strong wall; and the siege would have come to naught, had not Gentius, presuming greatly upon his own power, voluntarily advanced to battle. In consequence Anicius gained control of his entire domain; he then proceeded to Epirus, before Paulus arrived, and quieted that disturbed district also.

The people of Rome by some rumour or other heard of the victory of Paulus on the fourth day after the battle, but they placed no sure confidence in it. Then letters were brought from Paulus regarding his success, and they were greatly pleased and plumed themselves not merely upon having vanquished Perseus and acquired Macedonia but upon having beaten the renowned Philip of old and Alexander himself, together with all that empire which he had held. When Paulus reached Rome, B.C. 167 many decrees were passed in his honour and his triumphal procession was a most brilliant one. For in addition to all the booty which he had taken he also had in his procession Bithys, the son of Cotys, besides Perseus with his wife and three children in the garb of captives. But fearing that Heaven might become displeased with the Romans because of their excessive good fortune, he prayed, as Camillus had once done, that no ill to the state might result from it all, but rather to him, if it must come; and, indeed, he lost two sons, one a little before the celebration and the other during the

67 Ὅτι ὁ Παῦλος οὐ στρατηγῆσαι μόνον ἦν ἀγαθὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ χρημάτων ἀδωρότατος. τεκμήριον δέ· δεύτερον τότε ὑπατεύσας καὶ λαφύρων ἀμυθήτων κρατήσας ἐν τοσαύτῃ πενίᾳ διεβίω ὥστε χαλεπῶς τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν προῖκα τελευτήσαντος ἀποδοθῆναι. τοιοῦτος μὲν οὖν
2 ἦν καὶ τοιαῦτα ἔπραξεν· τοῦτο δὲ μόνον ὥσπερ τινὰ κηλῖδα τῷ[1] τούτου βίῳ προστετρῖφθαι νομίζουσι, τὸ διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ χρήματα ἐπιτρέψαι,[2] τἆλλα οὐκ ἄμοιρον χαρίτων ἄνδρα γενόμενον, καὶ μέτριον μὲν ἐν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις, εὐτυχέστατον δὲ ἅμα καὶ εὐβουλότατον ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὀφθέντα. μαρτύριον δὲ τὸ μήτε πρὸς τὸν Περσέα ὑπέρογκον καὶ ἀλαζόνα δειχθῆναι, μήτε τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν πόλεμον κακῶς καὶ ἀπροβούλως ἀγωνίσασθαι.—V. 60 (p. 613).

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ἀπέβαλεν ἑορτῇ. ἦν δὲ οὐ στρατηγῆσαι μόνον ἀγαθός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερόπτης χρημάτων. τεκμήριον δέ· δεύτερον τότε ὑπατεύσας καὶ λαφύρων ἀμυθήτων κρατήσας ἐν τοσαύτῃ πενίᾳ διεβίω ὥστε χαλεπῶς τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν προῖκα τελευτήσαντος ἀποδοθῆναι.

Τῶν δ' ἁλόντων τῷ πατρὶ μὲν ὁ Βίθυς προῖκα ἐδόθη, Περσεὺς δὲ εἰς Ἄλβαν σὺν τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τῇ θεραπείᾳ κατετέθη· κἀκεῖ ἕως μὲν ἤλπιζε τὴν βασιλείαν κομίσασθαι ἀντεῖχεν, ἐπεὶ δ'

[1] τῷ Rk., ἐν τῷ Ms.
[2] ἐπιτρέψαι added by Val. ; still more seems to have been lost from the Ms.

Paulus was not only good at generalship but most inaccessible to bribes. Of this the following is a proof. Though he had at that time entered upon the consulship for a second term and had gained possession of untold spoils, he continued to live in such great poverty that when he died the dowry was with difficulty paid back to his wife. Such was the nature of the man and such were his deeds. The only thing regarded as a blemish that attached to his character was his turning over the possessions [of the Epirots?] to his soldiers for pillage; for the rest, he showed himself a man not devoid of charm and temperate in good fortune, who was seen to be at once most fortunate and most shrewd in military affairs. For example, he did not assume a pompous or boastful attitude toward Perseus, nor had he been careless or incautious in his conduct of the war against him.

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triumphal festival itself. He was not only good at generalship, but he scorned money. Of this the following is a proof. Though he had at that time entered upon the consulship for a second term and had gained possession of untold spoils, he continued to live in such great poverty that when he died the dowry was with difficulty paid back to his wife.

Of the captives Bithys was returned to his father without ransom, but Perseus with his children and attendants was settled in Alba. There he held out as long as he still hoped to recover his kingdom,

68 Ὅτι οἱ Ῥόδιοι φρόνημα πολὺ πρότερον σχόντες ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τόν τε Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον νενικηκότες τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων κρείττους ὄντες, ἐς τοσοῦτον δέους ἀφίκοντο ὥστε καὶ πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον τὸν τῆς Συρίας βασιλέα σταλέντα Ποπίλιον[1] μεταπέμψασθαι, καὶ παρόντος αὐτοῦ καταψηφίσασθαι πάντων τῶν τἀναντία τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις φρονησάντων, τούς τε συλληφθέντας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν πέμψαι.—U^G 14 (p. 382). Cf. Suid. *s.v.* φρόνημα.

2 Ὅτι οἱ αὐτοὶ πρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολλάκις, ὥς που καὶ ἐδέοντό τινος, οὐδὲν ἔτ' αὐτοῖς προσέφερον ὧνπερ[2] καὶ πρότερον, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἐς τὸ παραιτήσασθαι μὴ μνησικακεῖν σφισιν αὐτοὺς χρήσιμα ἐξ ὧν ὑπούργησάν ποτε αὐτοῖς

3 λαβεῖν ἐδύναντο, μόνα ἔλεγον, καὶ τήν γε πρόσ-

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ἀπέγνω, ἑαυτὸν διεχειρίσατο. καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἥ τε θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀπέθανον· μόνος δ' ὁ νεώτατος τοῖς τῶν Ἀλβανῶν ἄρχουσιν ὑπογραμματεύων ἐπί τινα χρόνον διήρκεσεν. οὕτως ὁ Περσεὺς ὁ δι' εἴκοσι βασιλέων αὐχῶν γεγονέναι, καὶ πολὺν μὲν τὸν Φίλιππον, πλείω δὲ θρυλλῶν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπώλεσε καὶ αἰχμάλωτος γέγονε καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίοις ἐπόμπευσε, δεσμὰ μετὰ τοῦ διαδήματος περικείμενος.

Οἱ δέ γε Ῥόδιοι, μετὰ φρονήματος πρῴην τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσφερόμενοι, τότε μὴ μνησικακεῖν

[1] Ποπίλιον Reim., πόπλιον Mss. [2] ὧνπερ Bk., ὥσπερ Mss.

The Rhodians, who formerly had possessed a great deal of self-esteem, thinking that they, too, were the conquerors of Philip and Antiochus and were superior to the Romans, became so alarmed that they sent for Popilius, who had been despatched as an ambassador to Antiochus, king of Syria, and in his presence to condemn all those who had been opposed to the Roman policy and to send such of them as were apprehended to punishment.

This same people, though they had frequently sent envoys to the Romans, as often as they wanted anything, now ceased to bring to their attention any of their former claims, but mentioned only the cases they could cite of services once rendered them which might be useful in diverting their ill-will.

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but when he despaired of this, he made away with himself. His son Philip and his daughter also died a little later; only the youngest son survived for a time and served as under-secretary to the magistrates of Alba. Thus Perseus, who boasted of tracing his descent through twenty kings and often had on his lips the name of Philip and still oftener that of Alexander, lost his kingdom, became a captive, and marched in the triumphal procession wearing chains as well as his diadem.

The Rhodians, who in their earlier dealings with the Romans had shown a haughty spirit, now begged

ρησιν τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς μὴ προσδεχόμενοι πρόσθεν, ἵνα ὡς καὶ μετατάξασθαί ποτε ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ μηδεμίαν ἔνορκον ἀνάγκην φιλίας ἔχειν δυνάμενοι φοβεροί τε αὐτοῖς ὦσι καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἀεὶ πολεμούντων σφίσιν ἐπιθεραπεύωνται, τότε καὶ πάνυ προσθέσθαι ἐσπούδαζον, τήν τε παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὔνοιαν ἅμα βεβαιούμενοι καὶ τιμὴν ἐκ τούτου καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων θηρώμενοι.—U[G] 15 (p. 382).

69 Ὅτι ὁ Προυσίας αὐτὸς ἔς τε[1] τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσελθὼν τόν τε οὐδὸν αὐτοῦ κατεφίλησε καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς θεοὺς ἐπωνόμασε καὶ προσεκύνησεν. ἐξ οὗπερ καὶ ἠλεήθη ὅτι μάλιστα, καίτοι καὶ τῷ Ἀττάλῳ παρὰ τὴν τῶν

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αὐτοῖς ἠξίουν, καὶ σύμμαχοι πρόσθεν αὐτῶν καλεῖσθαι μὴ προσδεχόμενοι, τότε καὶ πάνυ τούτου τυχεῖν ἐσπούδαζον· καὶ ἔτυχον τῆς σπουδῆς, ἀλλ' ὀψέ. καὶ τοῖς Κρησὶν ὠργίζοντο μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἱκετείαις δὲ πολλαῖς χρησαμένοις ἀφῆκάν ποτε τὴν ὀργήν. καὶ ὁ Προυσίας δὲ καὶ ὁ Εὐμενής, ὁ μὲν δι' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐλθὼν καὶ εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον εἰσελθὼν καὶ τὸν οὐδὸν φιλήσας καὶ προσκυνήσας τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἠλεήθη τε καὶ ἠθῴωτο, Εὐμενὴς δὲ δι'

[1] ἔς τε Bk., τε ἐς Mss.

They were especially anxious at this time to secure the title of Roman allies, which formerly they had refused to accept; for they had wished to inspire the Romans with fear through the fact that they were not bound to friendship by any oath and hence were free to transfer their allegiance at any time, and furthermore they had wished to be courted by such states as from time to time might be engaged in war with Rome. But now they were endeavouring to strengthen the good-will of the Romans, while at the same time seeking the honour that was sure to be accorded them in consequence by others.

Prusias himself came to Rome, and entering the senate-house, kissed the threshold; and he termed the senators gods, and did them obeisance. Thus he readily obtained mercy, though he had fought against Attalus contrary to the Romans' advice. It

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Zonaras 9, 24.

the latter not to bear ill-will toward them; and whereas they had previously refused to be called their allies, they were now especially anxious to secure this privilege. They obtained the object of their striving, but only after long delay. The Romans harboured resentment against the Cretans, too, but in response to frequent entreaties on the part of this nation they eventually relaxed their anger. Their behaviour was similar in the case of Prusias and Eumenes. The former came personally to the city, and entering the senate-house, kissed the threshold and did obeisance to the senators, whereupon he obtained mercy and par-

Ῥωμαίων γνώμην πολεμήσας. ἐλέγετο γὰρ καὶ οἴκοι τοὺς πρέσβεις αὐτῶν, ὁσάκις ἀφίκοιντό τινες, προσκυνεῖν, ἀπελεύθερόν τε ἑαυτὸν τοῦ δήμου ἐπεκάλει, καὶ πιλίον πολλάκις ἐπετίθετο. —U[G] 16 (p. 383).

Zonaras 9, 24–25.

Ἀττάλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὸ μή τι μνησικακεῖν αὐτῷ εἴληφε.

Τότε δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς Καππαδοκίας οὕτω διῳκήθη. Ἀριαράθης ὁ ταύτης κρατῶν παῖδα γνήσιον ἔσχεν Ἀριαράθην. πρὶν δ' ἐσχηκέναι αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐκύισκε, παῖδα προσεποιήσατο Ὀροφέρνην καλέσασα. γεννηθέντος δ' ἔπειτα τοῦ γνησίου φωραθεὶς ἐκεῖνος ἐξηλάθη. ὃς μετὰ τὸν Ἀριαράθου θάνατον τῷ ἀδελφῷ δῆθεν ἐπανέστη. καὶ συνεμάχουν Ἀριαράθῃ μὲν Εὐμενής, Ὀροφέρνῃ δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεύς. ἐλαττωθεὶς δὲ Ἀριαράθης πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κατέφυγε, καὶ κοινωνὸς τῷ Ὀροφέρνῃ τῆς βασιλείας ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποδέδεικτο. ὅτι δὲ ὁ Ἀριαράθης τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος προσηγόρευτο, πᾶσαν ἐκεῖνος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τούτου προσῳκειώσατο. καὶ ὁ Ἄτταλος δὲ τὸν Εὐμενῆ θανόντα διαδεξάμενος τόν τε Ὀροφέρνην καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον παντελῶς ἐκ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἀπήλασεν.

25. Ὁ δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κρατῶν Πτολεμαῖος ἐπὶ δυσὶν υἱέσι καὶ μιᾷ ἐξέλιπε θυγατρί. ὡς δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ἀδελφοὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐστασίασαν, Ἀντίοχος ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀντιόχου

was said that at home, too, whenever their envoys came to him, he did them obeisance, calling himself a freedman of the people, and often he would put on the cap of liberty.

Zonaras 9, 24–25.

don; Eumenes, however, owed to his brother Attalus his security against further ill-will on their part.

At this time, too, the affairs of Cappadocia were settled in the following manner. B.C. 166 The monarch of that country, Ariarathes, had a legitimate son Ariarathes. But since for a long time before she had this son his wife had failed to conceive, she had adopted a child whom she called Orophernes. When the true son was later born, the position of the other was detected and he was banished. But after the death of Ariarathes he headed an uprising against his alleged brother. B.C. 163 Eumenes allied himself with Ariarathes, and Demetrius, the king of Syria, with Orophernes. Ariarathes, after sustaining a defeat, fled to the Romans and was appointed by them to share the kingdom with Orophernes. But the fact that Ariarathes had been termed a friend and ally by the Romans enabled him subsequently to make the entire domain his own. Then Attalus, who succeeded Eumenes upon the death of the latter, drove both Orophernes and Demetrius out of Cappadocia altogether.

25. Ptolemy, the ruler of Egypt, passed away leaving two sons and one daughter. When the brothers began to quarrel with each other about the sovereignty, Antiochus, the son of Antiochus the

Zonaras 9, 25.

υἱὸς τὸν νεώτερον[1] ἐκπεσόντα ἐδέξατο, ἵνα προφάσει τοῦ αὐτῷ ἀμύνειν ἐς τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων παρέλθοι. καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον τῆς τε πλείονος χώρας ἐκράτησε καὶ ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. καταφυγόντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, πεμφθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον ὁ Ποπίλιος[2] ἀποσχέσθαι αὐτὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐκέλευσεν· οἱ γὰρ ἀδελφοὶ συνέντες τὴν τοῦ Ἀντιόχου διάνοιαν κατηλλάγησαν. ὡς δ' ἐκεῖνος ὑπερέθετο τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, κύκλον ῥάβδῳ πέριξ αὐτοῦ περιέγραψε, κἀνταῦθα αὐτὸν ἑστηκότα ἀπήτησε βουλεύσασθαί τε καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι. ἐντεῦθεν δείσας ὁ Ἀντίοχος τὴν πολιορκίαν κατέλυσεν. ἀπαλλαγέντες δὲ τοῦ ἔξωθεν φόβου οἱ Πτολεμαῖοι (οὕτω γὰρ ἐκαλοῦντο ἀμφότεροι) αὖθις ἐστασίασαν. εἶτα συνηλλάγησαν αὖθις ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν Κύπρον, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν Κυρήνην ἔχειν τὸν ἕτερον· καὶ ταῦτα γὰρ τότε τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἦν. ἀγανακτῶν δ' ὁ νεώτερος διὰ τὴν ἐλάττωσιν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφίκετο· καὶ εὕρατο παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν Κύπρον. ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος συμβάσεις ἔθετο αὖθις πρὸς τὸν νεώτερον, πόλεις τέ τινας ἀντὶ τῆς Κύπρου δοὺς καὶ χρήματα καὶ σῖτον ταξάμενος συντελεῖν.

Τοῦ δ' Ἀντιόχου τελευτῶντος μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ παιδὶ ὁμωνύμῳ τὴν βασιλείαν καταλιπόντος, ταύτην τε αὐτῷ ἐβεβαίωσαν καὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐπιτρόπους δῆθεν, μικρὸς γὰρ ἦν, ἔπεμψαν. οἳ παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας εὑρόντες ἐλέφαντας καὶ

[1] νεώτερον Bs., νεώτατον Mss.

[2] Ποπίλιος Wolf, πόπλιος (πούπλιος A) Mss.

Zonaras 9, 25.

Great, sheltered the younger, who had been driven out, in order that under the pretext of defending him he might get his hands on Egyptian affairs. In a campaign directed against Egypt he conquered the greater part of the country and spent some time in besieging Alexandria. When the rest sought refuge with the Romans, Popilius was sent to Antiochus and bade him B.C. 168
keep his hands off Egypt; for the brothers, comprehending the designs of Antiochus, had become reconciled. When the latter was for putting off his reply, Popilius drew a circle about him with his staff and demanded that he deliberate and answer standing where he was. Antiochus then in fear raised the siege. The Ptolemies (this was the name of both princes) on being relieved of their dread of danger from outside, quarrelled again. Then they were reconciled once more by the Romans, on the condition that the elder should have Egypt and Cyprus, and the other the country about Cyrene, which also belonged to Egypt at that time. But the younger B.C. 162
brother, angry at receiving the inferior portion, came to Rome, where he secured from the people a grant of Cyprus in addition. Then his brother once more effected an arrangement with him by giving him some cities in exchange for Cyprus and agreeing to make fixed payments of money and grain.

Antiochus subsequently died, leaving the kingdom B.C. 164
to a child of the same name, whom the Romans confirmed in possession of it and to whom they sent three men ostensibly to act as his guardians, as he was very young. The commissioners, on finding elephants and triremes contrary to the compact,

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τριήρεις, τούς τε ἐλέφαντας σφαγῆναι πάντας ἐκέλευσαν καὶ τἄλλα πρὸς τὸ τῇ Ῥώμῃ συμφέρον διῴκουν. δι' ἅπερ Λυσίας ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν κηδεμονίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος παρώξυνε τὸ πλῆθος ἐκβαλεῖν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, τὸν δὲ Γάιον τὸν Ὀκτάβιον καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι. καὶ τούτων γενομένων ὁ μὲν πρέσβεις εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλεν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολογούμενος, Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Σελεύκου υἱὸς τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀντιόχου ὁμηρεύων ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς θάνατον καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ θείου τῆς βασιλείας ἐστερημένος, ὡς τὸν τοῦ Ἀντιόχου θάνατον ἔγνω, ᾔτει μὲν τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχήν, οἱ δὲ οὔτε ταύτην αὐτῷ συνέπραξαν οὔτ' ἀπᾶραι τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπέτρεψαν. καὶ ὃς καὶ δυσχεραίνων ὅμως ἡσύχαζεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Λυσίαν ἐγένετο, οὐκέτ' ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' ἀπέδρα· καὶ ἐκ Λυκίας τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐπέστειλε μὴ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνεψιὸν τὸν Ἀντίοχον,[1] ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν Λυσίαν τὴν ὁρμὴν ἔχειν, ὥστε τῷ Ὀκταβίῳ τιμωρήσειν. ἐς Τρίπολιν δὲ τῆς Συρίας ἐπειχθεὶς καὶ ταύτην προσαγαγόμενος, ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σταλείς (τὴν γὰρ ἀπόδρασιν αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς ἐνενόει), καὶ Ἀπαμείας κρατήσας δύναμίν τε συναγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἤλασε, καὶ τό τε παιδίον καὶ τὸν Λυσίαν φιλικῶς ἀπαντήσαντας αὐτῷ (δεδιότες γὰρ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οὐκ ἀντῆραν) διέφθειρε, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνεκομίσατο, κἂν

[1] There follow in the Mss. the words οὕτω γὰρ οἱ πάλαι τοὺς ἐξαδέλφους ἐκάλουν, a manifest gloss in explanation of ἀνεψιόν.

BOOK XX

Zonaras 9, 25.

ordered the elephants all to be slain and administered everything else in the interest of Rome. Therefore Lysias, who had been entrusted with the guardianship of the king, incited the populace to expel the Romans and also to kill Gaius Octavius. When these plans had been carried out, Lysias straightway despatched envoys to Rome to offer a defence for what had been done. Now Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, and grandson of Antiochus, who was staying in Rome as a hostage at the time of his father's death and had been deprived of the kingdom by his uncle Antiochus, had asked for the domain of his father when he learned of the death of Antiochus, but the Romans would neither help him to get it nor permit him to depart from Rome; and he, in spite of his dissatisfaction, had remained quiet. But when this affair of Lysias occurred, he no longer delayed, but escaped by flight and sent a message to the senate from Lycia stating that it was not his cousin Antiochus, but Lysias that he was attacking, with the purpose of avenging Octavius. And hastening to Tripolis in Syria, he won over the town, representing that he had been sent out by the Romans to take charge of the kingdom; for no one had any idea of his flight. Then after conquering Apamea and gathering a body of troops he marched on Antioch; and when the boy and Lysias offered no opposition through fear of the Romans, but came to meet him as friends, he put them to death and recovered the kingdom. He then forwarded to

Zonaras 9, 25.

τῇ Ῥώμῃ στέφανον καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Ὀκταβίου αὐθέντας ἀπέστειλεν. οἱ δὲ χαλεπαίνοντες αὐτῷ οὐδέτερον ἐδέξαντο.

Μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἐπὶ Δαλμάτας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐστράτευσαν. τὸ δ' ἔθνος τοῦτο ἔστι μὲν Ἰλλυριῶν τῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον, ὧν τινας Ταυλαντίους ὠνόμαζον Ἕλληνες, ἔχονται δὲ τοῦ Δυρραχίου ἐν μέρει. αἴτιον δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ὅτι τινὰς τῶν προσχώρων αὐτοῖς ἐν φιλίᾳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντας ἠδίκουν, συμπρεσβευσαμένοις τε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲν μέτριον ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβεις συλλαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν. τούτους ὁ Σκιπίων ὁ Νασικᾶς ὑπέταξεν, ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύσας· τάς τε γὰρ πόλεις αὐτῶν εἷλε καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐπίπρασκε. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ κατ' ἐκείνους συνέβη τοὺς χρόνους, οὐ μνήμης μέντοι οὐδ' ἱστορίας ἐπάξια.

BOOK XX

Zonaras 9, 25.

Rome a crown and the assassins of Octavius; but the citizens were angry with him and would accept neither.

Later the Romans made a campaign against the B.C. 156
Dalmatians. This race is a branch of the Illyrians who dwell along the Ionian Gulf, some of whom the Greeks used to call Taulantii, and part of whom are close to Dyrrachium. The cause of the war was that they had been abusing some of their neighbours who enjoyed the friendship of the Romans, and when the Romans joined an embassy in their behalf, the Dalmatians returned no respectful answer, and even arrested and killed the envoys of the other nations. Scipio Nasica made a campaign against this race and brought them to submission; for he captured their towns and proceeded to sell the captives. Other events, too, took place in those days, yet not of a kind to deserve mention or record.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXI

Zonaras 9, 26.

26. Ἐντεῦθεν αὖθις ὁ πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τὸ τρίτον ἀνερριπίζετο πόλεμος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔφερον ἐλαττούμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχικὰ καὶ ναυτικὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Νομαδικοῦ πολέμου παρασκευῇ παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἡτοίμαζον· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ὡς τὰ ἄλλα κατὰ γνώμην ἔθεντο, οὐχ ἡσύχασαν, ἀλλὰ πέμψαντες τὸν Σκιπίωνα τὸν Νασικᾶν ταῦτά τε αὐτοῖς ἐνεκάλουν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν διαλῦσαι ἐκέλευον. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸν Μασινίσσαν ᾐτιῶντο ἐκεῖνοι καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον πόλεμον ἀπειρήκασι ποιῆσαι τὸ κελευόμενον, σύμβασίν τινα πρὸς τὸν Μασινίσσαν αὐτοῖς ἔπραξαν καί τινος αὐτοῖς ἀποστῆναι χώρας αὐτὸν ἔπεισαν. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον εἰσήκουον, μικρὸν ἐπισχόντες Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα νικηθέντας σφᾶς μεγάλῃ μάχῃ πρὸς τοῦ Μασινίσσου ἐπύθοντο, εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο. ὃ μαθόντες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, οὐκ εὖ ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἔχοντες, κατέδεισαν, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην διὰ συμμαχίαν ἐστάλκασι (καὶ ἄλλοι γὰρ τῶν προσχώρων αὐτοῖς ἐπετίθεντο), καὶ ἐς πᾶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑπείξειν ἐπλάττοντο. μὴ γὰρ ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἐμμένειν μέλλοντες, ῥᾷον ἅπαντα ἐπηγγέλλοντο.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXI

Zonaras 9, 26.

26. Thereupon the strife with Carthage was again fanned into flame for the third time. For the Carthaginians could not endure being in an inferior position, and contrary to the treaty were gathering allies and getting their fleet ready in preparation for the war with the Numidians. And the Romans, having settled other questions to their satisfaction, did not remain at rest, but sending out Scipio Nasica, they reproached their rivals with this breach of faith and ordered them to disband their armament. When the Carthaginians put the blame upon Masinissa and because of the war with him declined to obey the order, the Romans arranged terms for them with Masinissa and prevailed upon him to retire from certain territory in their favour. But since they showed themselves no more tractable than before, the Romans waited a short time, and then as soon as they learned that the Carthaginians had been worsted in a great battle by Masinissa, they promptly declared war upon them. The Carthaginians, who were distressed over their defeat, became frightened on learning this, and since other neighbouring tribes were also beginning to attack them, they sent envoys to Rome to secure an alliance. They feigned a readiness to yield to the Romans on all points; for since they did not intend to abide by their agreements, they were all the more ready to promise anything.

B.C. 153

B.C. 152

B.C. 150

Zonaras 9, 26.

Τῆς δὲ γερουσίας βουλὴν περὶ τούτου συναγαγούσης, ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων ὁ Νασικᾶς δέξασθαι τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων πρεσβείαν καὶ σπονδὰς αὐτοῖς ποιήσασθαι συνεβούλευεν, ὁ δὲ Κάτων ὁ Μάρκος μήτε σπείσασθαι τούτοις δεῖν εἶπε μήτε λῦσαι τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ψήφισμα. οἵ δέ γε βουλευταὶ τήν τε τῶν πρέσβεων ἱκετείαν ἐδέξαντο καὶ σπονδὰς αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο παρασχεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁμήρους ᾔτησαν. οὓς Λούκιος Μάρκιος καὶ Μάρκος Μανίλιος, εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐλθόντες, ἐκεῖσε πεμφθέντας ἔλαβον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμψαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ σπουδῇ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν κατειλήφασι. καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι τὰ τέλη τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐκεῖ μετεπέμψαντο· καὶ ὡς ἀφίκοντο, οὐ πάντα ἅμα σφίσιν ὅσα ᾔτουν ἐξέφηναν, δείσαντες μὴ ταῦτα προμαθόντες ἀκεραίοις τοῖς πράγμασι σφῶν καταστῶσιν εἰς πόλεμον. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον σῖτον ᾔτησαν καὶ ἔλαβον, εἶτα τὰς τριήρεις καὶ ἐπὶ ταύταις τὰ μηχανήματα, εἶτα τὰ ὅπλα προσῄτησαν. λαβόντες οὖν πάντα (οἱ γὰρ Καρχηδόνιοι πολλὴν ἑτέραν παρασκευὴν κεκρυμμένην εἶχον), τέλος ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς κατασκάψαι μὲν τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν, ἑτέραν δ' ἐν μεσογείῳ οἰκοδομῆσαι ἀτείχιστον, ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους τῆς θαλάσσης διέχουσαν. πρὸς τοῦτο δ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐς δάκρυα κατηνέχθησαν καὶ ὡς ἑαλωκότες ἀνωλοφύροντο καὶ ἐδέοντο τῶν ὑπάτων μὴ καταναγκάσαι σφᾶς γενέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος αὐτόχειρας. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἤνυον, ἀλλ' ἢ πρᾶξαι τὸ προσταττόμενον ἐκελεύοντο ἢ ἀναρ-

BOOK XXI

Zonaras 9, 26.

When the senate called a meeting to consider the matter, Scipio Nasica advised receiving the Carthaginian embassy and making a truce with them, but Marcus Cato declared that no truce ought to be made nor the declaration of war rescinded. Nevertheless, the senators listened to the entreaties of the envoys, promised to grant them a truce, and demanded hostages for the fulfilment of the conditions. These hostages were sent to Sicily, and Lucius Marcius and Marcus Manilius went there, took charge of them, and sent them on to Rome, while they themselves made haste to reach Africa. After encamping they summoned the magistrates of Carthage to appear before them. Now upon the arrival of these officials they did not unmask all their demands at once, fearing that if the Carthaginians learned them in season they would enter upon war with their resources undiminished. So at first they demanded and received grain, next the triremes, and after that the engines; and then they required the arms besides. After receiving all these things—for the Carthaginians had a great deal of other equipment hidden away—they at length ordered them to raze their city and to build in its place an unwalled town inland, eighty stades[1] distant from the sea. At that the Carthaginians gave way to tears, bewailed their fate, as if already conquered, and begged the consuls not to compel them to become the assassins of their country. They soon found that they could accomplish nothing and had to face the repeated command either B.C. 149

[1] About nine miles.

Zonaras 9, 26.

ῥῖψαι τὸν πόλεμον, συχνοὶ μὲν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὡς ἤδη κεκρατηκόσι κατέμειναν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπαναχωρήσαντες τῶν τε σφετέρων ἀρχόντων ἐνίους ἀπέκτειναν, ὅτι μὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς τὸν πόλεμον εἵλοντο, καὶ τοὺς ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους εὑρεθέντας Ῥωμαίους διέφθειραν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὥρμησαν. διὸ τούς τε δούλους ἅπαντας ἠλευθέρωσαν καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας κατήγαγον, καὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν στρατηγὸν αὖθις εἵλοντο, καὶ ὅπλα καὶ μηχανὰς τριήρεις τε ἡτοιμάσαντο. ὡς γὰρ τοῦ πολέμου ἐπικειμένου, καὶ περὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ κινδυνεύοντες, δι' ἐλαχίστου πάνθ' ὅσων ἔχρῃζον κατεσκεύαζον. ἐφείδοντο γὰρ οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας πρὸς τὴν χρείαν τοῦ χαλκοῦ συνεχώνευσαν καὶ ἐς τὰς σχοίνους τῶν γυναικῶν ταῖς κόμαις ἐχρήσαντο. οἱ δ' ὕπατοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀόπλους ταχέως αἱρήσειν ἐλπίσαντες μόνας ἡτοιμάσαντο κλίμακας, ὡς δι' αὐτῶν εὐθὺς τοῦ τείχους ἐπιβησόμενοι, ἔπειτα προσβαλόντες καὶ ὡπλισμένους

Planudean Excerpt.

Ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι πολεμούμενοι παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα τε καὶ τριήρεις δι' ἐλαχίστου ἐποιήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδριάντας πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χαλκοῦ χρῆσιν συγχωνεύσαντες, καὶ τὴν ξύλωσιν τῶν τε ἰδίων καὶ δημοσίων ἔργων πρὸς τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς μετενεγκάμενοι, ἔς τε τὰ σχοινία ταῖς τῶν γυναικῶν κόμαις ἀποκεκαρμέναις[1] χρησάμενοι.

[1] ἀποκεκαρμέναις Bk., ἀποκειραμέναις Mss.

Zonaras 9, 26.

to carry out the order or to accept the hazard of war. Many of them then remained there on the Roman side, recognizing them as already the victors; the remainder withdrew, and after killing some of their rulers for not having chosen war in the first place and after murdering such Romans as were discovered within the walls, they addressed themselves to the war. Under these circumstances they liberated all the slaves, restored the exiles, chose Hasdrubal once more as leader, and made ready arms, engines, and triremes. With war at their doors and the danger of slavery confronting them, they prepared in the briefest possible time everything that they needed. They spared nothing, but even melted down the statues for the sake of the bronze in them and used the hair of the women for ropes. The consuls at first, thinking them unarmed, hoped to overcome them speedily and merely prepared ladders, with which they expected to scale the wall at once; but when, upon making an assault, they saw that their enemies

Planudean Excerpt.[1]

The Carthaginians, when war was made upon them by the Romans, constructed weapons and triremes in the briefest possible time. They melted down the statues for the sake of the bronze in them, and took the woodwork of buildings, private and public alike, for the triremes and the engines, while for ropes they used the hair of the women, which had been shorn off.

[1] See Introduction to vol. i, p. xx, note.

σφᾶς καὶ τὰ πρὸς πολιορκίαν ἔχοντας ἰδόντες πρὸς μηχανῶν ἐργασίαν ἐτράποντο, καὶ αὐτὰς ἐπικινδύνως κατασκευάσαντες (ὁ γὰρ Ἀσδρούβας ὑλαγωγοῦντας ἐνεδρεύων ἐλύπει), προσέμισγον τῇ πόλει. καὶ Μανίλιος μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου αὐτῇ προσβαλὼν οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἔβλαψε, Μάρκιος δ' ἐκ θαλάσσης κατὰ τὸ λιμνῶδες προσπεσὼν κατέσεισε μέν τι τοῦ τείχους, οὐ μέντοι καὶ εἰσῆλθεν. οἱ γὰρ Καρχηδόνιοι τούς τε βιαζομένους εἰσελθεῖν ἐξεκρούσαντο καὶ νύκτωρ διὰ τῶν ἐρειπίων ἐπεξελθόντες ἀνθρώπους τε συχνοὺς ἔκτειναν καὶ μηχανήματα πλεῖστα κατέπρησαν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας παρὰ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου καὶ τῶν ἱππέων εἰῶντο σκεδάννυσθαι, οὔτε μὴν ὁ Μασινίσσας αὐτοῖς ἐπεκούρησεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πολέμου προσεκέκλητο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν τότε διαπολεμήσειν ὑποσχομένῳ οὐκ ἐπέτρεψαν.

27. Οἱ δ' ὕπατοι διά τε τὰ συμβάντα καὶ ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ διατριβῆς ἐνόσησεν ἔλυσαν τὴν πολιορκίαν. καὶ Μάρκιος μὲν ἐπιχειρήσας κατὰ θάλασσάν τι πρᾶξαι ἢ τὴν παραλίαν κακῶσαι, ὡς οὐδὲν ἤνυεν, ἀπέπλευσεν οἴκαδε· καὶ ἀνθυποστρέψας Αἰγίμουρον ἐχειρώσατο· Μανίλιος δὲ ὥρμησε μὲν ἐς τὴν μεσόγειον, κακούμενος δ' ὑπὸ Ἱμίλκωνος τοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἱππάρχου, ὃν καὶ Φαμέαν ἐκάλουν, πρὸς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐπανελήλυθε. κἀκεῖ δὲ ἔξωθεν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας, ἔνδοθεν δ' ἐπεξιόντες οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει

were armed and possessed the means for a siege, they devoted themselves to manufacturing engines. The construction of these was fraught with danger, since Hasdrubal set ambuscades for those who were gathering the wood and annoyed them considerably; but in time they were able to assail the city. Now Manilius in his assault from the land side could not injure the Carthaginians at all, but Marcius, while making an attack from the side of the sea over marshy ground, managed to batter down a part of the wall, though he could not get inside. For the Carthaginians not only repulsed those who attempted to force their way in, but at night they made a sortie through the ruins and slew many men and burned up a very large number of engines. Furthermore, Hasdrubal and the cavalry did not allow the Romans to scatter far over the country, and Masinissa lent them no aid. For he had not been invited at the opening of the war, and, though he had offered at that time to fight the war out with Hasdrubal, they had not permitted him to do so.

27. The consuls, both in view of what had occurred and because their fleet had been damaged by its stay in the lake, raised the siege. Marcius endeavoured to accomplish something by sea or at least to injure the coast region, but not meeting with any success, he sailed for home, then turned back and subdued Aegimurus; and Manilius started for the interior, but upon sustaining injuries at the hands of Himilco, commander of the Carthaginian cavalry, who was also called Phameas, he returned to Carthage. There, while the forces of Hasdrubal on the outside troubled him, the people in the city harassed

70, 4 Ὅτι οὗτος ἄριστος μὲν ἦν ἐκ πλείονος τὸ δέον ἐκφροντίσαι, ἄριστος δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα τὸ κατεπεῖγον ἐρευνῆσαι, ἔν τε τῷ προσήκοντι καιρῷ ἑκατέρῳ αὐτῶν χρήσασθαι,[1] τά τε πρακτέα ἐν τῷ θαρσοῦντι διεσκόπει, καὶ τὴν διαχείρισιν αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ δεδιὼς ἐποιεῖτο. ὅθενπερ τῇ τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἀδεεῖ διασκέψει πάντα ἀκριβῶς τὰ καθήκοντα ἐνενόει, καὶ τῇ περὶ τοῦ ἀσταθμήτου
5 φροντίδι ἀσφαλῶς αὐτὰ ἔπραττε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ', εἴ ποτε καὶ ἐς ἀπροβουλίας ἀνάγκην, οἷα ἔν τε

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καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν αὐτὸν ἐκάκουν. καταφρονήσαντες οὖν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου αὐτῶν ἐπῆλθον, καὶ συχνοὺς ἀποβαλόντες (ἄοπλοι γὰρ οἱ πλείους ἦσαν) εἰς τὸ τεῖχος αὖθις συνεκλείσθησαν. ὁ δὲ Μανίλιος τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ συμμῖξαι μάλιστα εἵλετο, καὶ εἰ ἐκεῖνον νικήσει, ῥᾷον τοῖς λοιποῖς προσπολεμήσειν ἐνόμιζε. καί οἱ προσέμιξε· πρὸς δέ τι φρούριον ἀναχωροῦντι ἐπακολουθήσας, ἔλαθεν εἴσω χώρας τραχείας καὶ στενοπόρου γενόμενος, καὶ δεινῶς ἐκακώθη. καὶ πανσυδὶ ἂν διεφθάρη, εἰ μὴ Σκιπίων ὁ τοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ χρησιμώτατος αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, ἀνὴρ ἄριστος μὲν νοῆσαι καὶ προβουλεῦσαι τὰ κράτιστα, ἄριστος δὲ χειρουργῆσαι·

[1] χρήσασθαι St., χρήσασθαι ἦν Ms.

BOOK XXI

This man [Scipio Africanus] excelled in planning out at leisure the requisite course, but excelled also in discovering the immediate need on the spur of the moment, and was able to employ either method on the proper occasion. The duties that lay before him he examined boldly, but performed them as if with timidity. Hence, by his fearless and deliberate examination of matters he understood exactly the proper thing to do, and would accomplish it safely as a result of the thought he gave to the element of uncertainty. Accordingly, if he was ever brought face to face with some crisis that admitted of no deliberation, such as is wont to

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Zonaras 9, 27.

him by sorties both night and day. In fact, the Carthaginians showed their contempt by advancing as far as the Roman camp, but, being for the most part unarmed, they lost a number of men and were shut up in their fortifications again. Manilius was particularly anxious to engage in combat with Hasdrubal, thinking that if he could vanquish him he should find it easier to wage war upon the others. And, in fact, he did have an encounter with him: he followed Hasdrubal to a small fort whither the latter was retiring, and before he knew it got into a rugged defile and there suffered a terrible reverse. In fact, his entire force would have been destroyed, had he not found a most valuable helper in Scipio, the descendant of Africanus, who excelled in apprehending and devising beforehand the most advantageous plans, and excelled also in executing them. For

τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου παραλόγοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς τύχης ῥοπαῖς συμβαίνειν εἴωθε, προήχθη, οὐδὲ τότε τῶν προσηκόντων ἡμάρτανεν. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ἔθους, τοῦ[1] τῇ τύχῃ[2] πρὸς μηδὲν ἀλογίστως χρῆσθαι, οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν[3] τοῦ ἐξαπιναίου προσβολὴν[4] ἀπαράσκευος ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς αἰφνιδίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ μηδέποτε ἀτρεμίζειν ὡς καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ αὐτὰ
6 προνενοηκὼς ἐχρῆτο. τολμητής τε ἐκ τούτων ἐν οἷς ἐπεπιστεύκει ὀρθῶς ἔχειν, καὶ κινδυνευτὴς ἐν οἷς ἐθάρσει ἰσχυρῶς ἐγίγνετο· καὶ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἴσα τοῖς πάνυ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔρρωτο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ὃ[5] καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἄν τις αὐτοῦ θαυμάσειεν, προεβούλευέ τε τὰ κράτιστα ὡς καὶ ἑτέροις ἐπιτάξων, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ αὐτὰ ὡς καὶ ὑφ'[6] ἑτέρων
7 κεκελευσμένα ἐχειρούργει. τῇ τε οὖν ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ ἀσφαλὴς ἦν, καὶ τὴν πιστότητα οὐχ ὅπως πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας τούς τε χρωμένους οἱ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὀθνεῖον τό τε πολεμιώτατον ἀκριβῆ ἐκέκτητο. καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ τοῦτο πολλοὶ μὲν ἰδιῶται, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ πόλεις προσεχώρησαν.
8 ἅτε γὰρ μηδὲν ἀλογίστως μηδὲ ἐξ ὀργῆς ἢ καὶ δέους ποιῶν ἢ καὶ λέγων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ βεβαίου τῶν λογισμῶν πρὸς πάντα τὰ καίρια ἕτοιμος ὤν, καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἱκανῶς ἐκλογιζόμενος, καὶ μήτε

Zonaras 9, 27.

καὶ γὰρ τῷ σώματι ἔρρωτο, ἐπιεικής τε καὶ μέ-

[1] τοῦ Kuiper, τοῦ τε Ms. [2] τύχῃ Bk., ψυχῇ Ms.
[3] τὴν Bk., τι Ms. [4] προσβολὴν Bk., προσκοπὴν Ms.
[5] ὃ supplied by Bk. [6] ὑφ' Bk., ἀφ' Ms.

happen in the contradictions of warfare and the turns of fortune, not even then did he miss the proper course. For, thanks to his habit of never trusting recklessly to luck for anything, he was not unprepared for the assault of a sudden emergency, but through his incessant activity was able to meet even the unexpected as if he had long foreseen it. As a result he showed himself exceedingly bold in matters where he felt he was right, and likewise exceedingly venturesome where he felt bold; for in physique he was as powerful as the best of the soldiers. This led to one of his most remarkable characteristics: he would devise the most advantageous plans as if he were going to direct others, and at the time of action would execute them as if they had been ordered by others. Besides not swerving from the ordinary paths of rectitude, he kept faith scrupulously not only with the citizens and his associates, but even with foreigners and the bitterest enemies; and this brought many individuals as well as many cities to his side. He never acted or even spoke without due consideration, nor through anger or fear, but through the certainty of his calculations was ready for all occasions; he took sufficiently into account the instability of human plans,

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Zonaras 9, 27.

he was powerful in physique; and he was amiable

τι ἀνέλπιστον ποιούμενος, καὶ πάντα πρὸς τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων φύσιν προδιασκοπῶν, ῥᾷστά τε τὰ πρακτέα πρὶν καὶ δεηθῆναι αὐτῶν ἐπενόει,
9 καὶ ἐς βεβαιότητα αὐτοῖς ἐχρῆτο. τοιγαροῦν μόνος ἀνθρώπων ἢ καὶ μάλιστα διά τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὴν μετριότητα τήν τε ἐπιείκειαν οὔτε ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοτίμων οὔθ' ὑπό τινος ἐφθονήθη. ἴσος μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὑποδεεστέροις, οὐκ ἀμείνων δὲ τῶν ὁμοίων, ἀσθενέστερος δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἀξιῶν εἶναι, κρείττων καὶ τοῦ φθόνου τοῦ μόνου τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄνδρας λυμαινομένου ἐγένετο.—V. 61 (p. 613).

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τριος ἦν· δι' ἃ καὶ τὸν φθόνον ἐξέφυγεν. ἴσος μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὑποδεεστέροις, οὐκ ἀμείνων δὲ τῶν ὁμοτίμων (ἐχιλιάρχει γάρ), ἀσθενέστερος δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἠξίου εἶναι. ὁ οὖν Μανίλιος καὶ εἶπε τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπέστειλε τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μή τι ἀποκρυψάμενος, καὶ τἄλλα καὶ τὰ κατὰ Μασινίσσαν καὶ τὸν Φαμέαν· ἃ ἔσχον οὕτως.

Θνήσκων ὁ Μασινίσσας ἠπόρει ὅπως περὶ τῆς βασιλείας διάθηται, διά τε τὸ τῶν υἱέων πλῆθος καὶ τὸ διάφορον τοῦ κατὰ τὰς μητέρας γένους αὐτῶν. διὸ πρὸς συμβουλίαν τὸν Σκιπίωνα μετεπέμψατο· ὃν ὁ ὕπατος ἔστειλεν. ἀλλ' ὁ Μασινίσσας πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐκλείπων τὸν μὲν δακτύλιον τῷ Μικίψᾳ τῷ υἱῷ ἔδωκε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἄρτι ἐλθόντι παρέσχεν καὶ ἐνετείλατο. ὁ

and yet regarded nothing as impossible, but deliberated every matter beforehand in the light of its real nature. Thus he perceived very easily the right course to follow even before there was any necessity, and pursued it with firmness. Because of this, as well as because of his moderation and amiability, he alone of men, or at least more than others, escaped the envy of his peers, as well as of everyone else. For he chose to make himself the equal of his inferiors, not better than his equals, and inferior to greater men, and so passed beyond the reach of jealousy, which is the one thing that injures the noblest men.

Zonaras 9, 27.

and moderate, as a result of which he escaped envy. For he chose to make himself the equal of his inferiors, not better than his equals (he was serving as tribune), and inferior to greater men. Manilius not only reported what Scipio had done but also sent a letter to the people of Rome concealing nothing, but including among other matters an account of the conduct of Masinissa and Phameas. This was as follows.

Masinissa on his death-bed was at a loss to know how he should dispose of his kingdom, owing to the number of his sons and the variety of their family ties on their mothers' side. Therefore he sent for Scipio to advise him, and the consul let Scipio go. But Masinissa died before Scipio arrived, after having given his ring to his son Micipsa and delivered and committed all the other interests pertaining to his kingdom to Scipio, as soon as the latter

71, 2 Δίωνος κα' βιβλίῳ "ὅ τε Φαμέας ἀπογνοὺς τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πράγματα."—Bekk. Anecd. p. 124, 9.

Zonaras 9, 27.

οὖν Σκιπίων κατανοήσας τὰς προαιρέσεις τῶν υἱέων αὐτοῦ, οὐδενὶ μὲν αὐτῶν μόνῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπένειμε, τριῶν δὲ τῶν ἐλλογιμωτάτων ὄντων, πρεσβυτάτου μὲν Μικίψου, νεωτάτου δὲ Γουλούσσου, μέσου δὲ Μαστανάβου, τούτοις τὰ πράγματα, μεμερισμένως μέντοι, κατένειμε. τῷ μὲν γὰρ πρεσβυτάτῳ χρηματιστῇ τε ὄντι καὶ φιλοπλούτῳ τὴν διοίκησιν ἐνεχείρισε, τῷ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν τὰς διαφορὰς κρίνειν ἐπέτρεψε δικαστικῷ[1] ὄντι, τῷ δὲ Γουλούσσᾳ πολεμικῷ τυγχάνοντι τὰς δυνάμεις παρέδωκε. τοῖς δ' ἀδελφοῖς αὐτῶν πολλοῖς οὖσι πόλεις τινὰς καὶ χώρας ἔνειμε. καὶ τὸν Γουλούσσαν παραλαβὼν πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον ἤγαγεν.

Ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἔαρος ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν Καρχηδονίων συμμάχους ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν βίᾳ, πολλοὺς δὲ ὁμολογίᾳ, καὶ μάλιστα ὁ Σκιπίων, παρεστήσαντο. ὡς δὲ ὁ Φαμέας ἀπογνοὺς τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπέκλινε καὶ εἰς λόγους τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἦλθε, τότε καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἅπαντες ὥρμησαν. καὶ προσέμιξαν μὲν τῷ φρουρίῳ συχναῖς ἡμέραις, ἐπιλιπόντων δὲ αὐτοὺς αὖθις τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀνεχώρησαν εὐπρεπῶς. προσέβαλε μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ Φαμέας προσεδρεύουσιν ἔτι ὡς πολεμήσων καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ μεθ' ἱππέων τινῶν ηὐτομόλησε. κἀντεῦθεν Μανίλιος μὲν εἰς τὴν Οὐτικὴν ἐλθὼν ἡσύχαζε, Σκιπίων δὲ τὸν Φαμέαν

[1] δικαστικῷ Polak, δικαστῇ Mss.

Dio, Book XXI. "Phameas, despairing of the Carthaginian cause."

Zonaras 9, 27.

should arrive. Now Scipio, being aware of the dispositions of Masinissa's sons, assigned the kingdom to no one of them singly; but since there were three most distinguished, the eldest Micipsa, the youngest Gulussa, and between them Mastanabal, he appointed these to have charge of affairs, though with distinct functions. To the eldest, who was versed in business and fond of wealth, he entrusted the management of the finances; to the second son, who possessed the judicial temperament, he granted the right to decide disputes; and to Gulussa, who was of a warlike disposition, he delivered the troops. To their brothers, who were numerous, he assigned certain cities and districts. And taking Gulussa along with him, he brought him to the consul.

Now at the beginning of spring they made a campaign against the allies of the Carthaginians and brought many of them to terms forcibly, while inducing many others to capitulate; in this work Scipio was especially active. And when Phameas, despairing of Carthaginian success, inclined to the Roman side and held a conference with Scipio, then they all set out against Hasdrubal. For several days they assailed his fortress, but as supplies again failed them they retired in good order. During the siege Phameas had attacked them and made a show of fighting, but in the progress of the action he had deserted together with some of the cavalry. Then Manilius went to Utica and remained quiet, while Scipio took Phameas

Zonaras 9, 27–28.

εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνήγαγε· καὶ αὐτός τε ἐπῃνεῖτο καὶ ὁ Φαμέας τετίμητο ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ συγκαθῆσθαι τῇ γερουσίᾳ.

28. Τότε δὲ συνηνέχθη καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Προυσίαν. ὃς γέρων ὢν καὶ τοὺς τρόπους τραχὺς ἐφοβήθη τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς μὴ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν ἐκβάλωσι, τὸν Νικομήδη τὸν υἱὸν ἀνθελόμενοι. καὶ κατά τινα πρόφασιν ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτὸν κἀκεῖ διάγειν ἐκέλευσεν. ὡς δὲ κἀν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διαιτωμένῳ τῷ υἱῷ ἐπεβούλευσε καὶ ἔσπευδε κτεῖναι αὐτόν, Βιθυνοί τινες εἰς Ῥώμην φοιτήσαντες ἐξήγαγον λάθρᾳ τὸν Νικομήδη, καὶ ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν κομίσαντες, τὸν μὲν γέροντα ἐφόνευσαν, βασιλέα δ' ἐκεῖνον ἀπέδειξαν. ταῦτα ἠνίασε μὲν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, οὐ μὴν καὶ εἰς πόλεμον ἐξηρέθισε.

Τὴν δὲ Μακεδονίαν Ἀνδρίσκος τις ἐξ Ἀτραμυττίου φύς, τῷ Περσεῖ δ' ἐμφερὴς τὸ εἶδος γενόμενος καὶ παῖς εἶναι ἐκείνου πλαττόμενος καὶ Φίλιππον ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάζων, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπέστησε. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐλθὼν ταράττειν αὐτὴν ἐπειρᾶτο, ὡς δὲ οὐδεὶς προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ, πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ἐτράπετο, ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνου διὰ τὸ γένος βοηθείας τευξόμενος. συλληφθεὶς δὲ παρ' ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πεμφθείς, ὅτι τε μὴ ὢν τοῦ Περσέως υἱὸς ἠλέγχθη καὶ ὅτι οὐδέ τι ἕτερον εἶχεν ἄξιον λόγου, κατεφρονήθη. καὶ ἀφεθεὶς χεῖρά τε συνήγαγεν ἀνθρώπων νεωτεροποιῶν καὶ πόλεις πολλὰς ἐπηγάγετο, καὶ τέλος βασιλικὴν στολὴν περιθέμενος καὶ δύναμιν συγκροτήσας

back to Rome, where he himself received commendation and Phameas was honoured to the extent of being allowed to sit with the senate in the senate-house.

28. It was at this time, too, that the episode occurred in which Prusias figured. This monarch, being old and of an irritable disposition, became possessed by a fear that the Bithynians would expel him from his kingdom, choosing in his stead his son Nicomedes. So he sent him to Rome on some pretext, with orders to make that his home. But since he plotted against his son even during his sojourn in Rome and strove to kill him, some Bithynians visited Rome, took Nicomedes away secretly, and conveyed him to Bithynia; and after slaying his father they appointed him king. This act irritated the Romans, but not to the point of war.

A certain Andriscus, who was a native of Adramyttium and resembled Perseus in appearance, caused a large part of Macedonia to revolt by pretending to be his son and calling himself Philip. First he went to Macedonia and tried to stir up that country, but as no one would yield him allegiance, he betook himself to Demetrius in Syria to obtain from him the aid which relationship might afford. But Demetrius arrested him and sent him to Rome, where he met with general contempt, both because he stood convicted of not being the son of Perseus and because he had no other qualities worthy of mention. On being released he gathered a band of revolutionists, drew after him a number of cities, and finally, assuming the kingly garb and mustering an army, he

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εἰς Θρᾴκην ἀφίκετο, καὶ συχνοὺς μὲν τῶν αὐτονόμων, συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν δυναστῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀχθομένους παραλαβὼν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐνέβαλε καὶ αὐτὴν κατέσχε, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ὁρμήσας οὐκ ὀλίγα ταύτης προσεποιήσατο.

Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι κατεφρόνουν μὲν πρότερον τοῦ Ἀνδρίσκου, εἶτα τὸν Σκιπίωνα τὸν Νασικᾶν ἔπεμψαν εἰρηνικῶς πως τὰ ἐκεῖ διοικήσοντα. ὃς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλθὼν καὶ μαθὼν τὰ γενόμενα, τοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις δηλῶν ταῦτα ἐπέστειλε, δύναμιν δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ συμμάχων ἀθροίσας ἔργου εἴχετο, καὶ προῆλθε μέχρι Μακεδονίας. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γνόντες τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀνδρίσκον, στράτευμα ἔπεμψαν καὶ στρατηγὸν Πούπλιον Ἰουβέντιον. ᾧ περὶ Μακεδονίαν γενομένῳ συμβαλὼν ὁ Ἀνδρίσκος ἐκεῖνόν τε ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ἂν κατειργάσατο, εἰ μὴ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπεχώρησαν. καὶ εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσέβαλε καὶ πλεῖστα αὐτῆς ἐκάκωσε, καὶ τὰ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν προσηταιρίζετο. πάλιν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ Κύιντον Καικίλιον Μέτελλον στρατηγὸν σὺν δυνάμει πολλῇ ἔστειλαν. καὶ ὃς εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἦλθε, καί οἱ ὁ Ἄτταλος προσήμυνε ναυτικῷ. διὸ δείσας ὁ Ἀνδρίσκος περὶ τῶν παραθαλασσίων οὐκ ἐτόλμησε περαιτέρω προελθεῖν· ὀλίγον δὲ τῆς Πύδνης ἔξω προχωρήσας ἱππομαχίᾳ μὲν ὑπερέσχε, φοβηθεὶς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀνέστρεψε. καὶ ἐπαρθεὶς διχῇ τὸν στρατὸν διεῖλε, καὶ τοῖς μὲν αὐτὸς κατὰ χώραν προσήδρευε, τοὺς δὲ πορθῆσαι τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ἀπέστειλε. καταφρονήσας οὖν ὁ Μέτελλος τῶν παρόντων συνέμιξε· καὶ τῶν πρω-

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reached Thrace. There he added to his army several of the independent states as well as several of the princes who disliked the Romans, invaded and occupied Macedonia, and setting out for Thessaly won over no small part of that country.

The Romans at first scorned Andriscus, and then they sent Scipio Nasica to settle matters there in some peaceable manner. On reaching Greece and ascertaining what had occurred, he sent a letter to the Romans explaining the situation; then after collecting troops from the allies there he devoted himself to the business in hand and advanced as far as Macedonia. The people of Rome, when informed of the doings of Andriscus, sent an army along with Publius Juventius, a praetor. Juventius had just reached the vicinity of Macedonia when Andriscus gave battle, killed the praetor, and would have annihilated his entire force had they not withdrawn by night. Next he invaded Thessaly, harried a great many parts of it, and was ranging Thracian interests on his side. Consequently B.C. 148
the people of Rome once more dispatched a praetor, Quintus Caecilius Metellus, with a strong body of troops. He proceeded to Macedonia and received the assistance of the fleet of Attalus. Andriscus in consequence became anxious about the coast districts, and so did not venture to advance farther, but moved up to a point slightly beyond Pydna. There he had the best of it in a cavalry encounter, but out of fear of the infantry turned back. He was so elated that he divided his army into two sections, with one of which he remained on the watch where he was, while he sent the other to ravage Thessaly. Metellus, contemptuous of the forces confronting him,

70, 2 Τίς γάρ ποτε καὶ ὅρος ἡλικίας τοῖς γε ἅπαξ ἐκ μειρακίων ἐξελθοῦσι πρὸς τὸ τὰ δέοντα φρονεῖν ἔπεστι; τίς ἀριθμὸς ἐτῶν πρὸς τὸ τὰ προσήκοντα πράττειν ἀποδέδεικται; οὐχ ὅσοι μὲν ἂν τῇ τε

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τον αὐτῷ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντων περιγενόμενος ῥᾷον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς παρεστήσατο· ἑτοίμως γὰρ ὡς ἐξήμαρτον αὐτῷ ὡμολόγησαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀνδρίσκος εἰς τὴν Θρᾴκην ἀπέδρα, καὶ δύναμιν ἀθροίσας συνέβαλε τῷ Μετέλλῳ προϊόντι οὗ προεχώρει. καὶ τῶν προμάχων αὐτοῦ τραπέντων τό τε συμμαχικὸν αὐτοῦ ἐσκεδάσθη καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Βύζου Θρᾳκὸς δυνάστου προδοθεὶς ἐδικαιώθη.

Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος δέ τις Περσέως καὶ αὐτὸς λέγων εἶναι υἱὸς καὶ χεῖρα συναγαγών, κατέλαβε τὴν περὶ τὸν Μέστον καλούμενον ποταμὸν χώραν· ὃν ὁ Μέτελλος ἐπεδίωξεν ὑποφυγόντα μέχρι τῆς Δαρδανίας.

29. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Πείσωνα τὸν ὕπατον ἔστειλαν. ὃς τῇ μὲν Καρχηδόνι καὶ τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ οὐ προσέμιξεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς παραλίους πόλεις ἐτράπετο· καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἀσπίδος ἀπεκρούσθη, τὴν δὲ Νέαν πόλιν ἑλὼν κατέσκαψεν· ἐπὶ δὲ Ἱππῶνα πόλιν ὁρμήσας κατέτριψε τὸν καιρὸν μηδὲν περάνας. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι ἀνεθάρσησαν διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι καί τινες αὐτοῖς προσεγένοντο σύμμαχοι. μαθόντες οὖν ταῦτα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οἵ τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐπὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ὥρμησαν καὶ ὕπατον αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο, καίτοι τῆς ἡλικίας μὴ ἐφιείσης αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχήν· ἀλλὰ

What age, pray, has been fixed as the time for beginning to think sensibly,—assuming one has ceased to be a boy? What number of years has been determined upon as necessary for beginning to

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joined battle, and after overpowering those with whom he first came into conflict he very easily won over the others also; for they readily admitted to him the error of their ways. Andriscus fled to Thrace and after assembling a force gave battle to Metellus as the latter was advancing on his way. His vanguard, however, was routed, whereupon his allied force was scattered; and Andriscus himself was betrayed by Byzes, a Thracian prince, and punished.

One Alexander also had declared himself to be a son of Perseus, and collecting a band of warriors, had occupied the country round about the river which is called the Mestus[1]: but he now took to flight, and Metellus pursued him as far as Dardania.

29. The Romans sent out Piso, the consul, against the Carthaginians. Piso did not try conclusions with Carthage and Hasdrubal, but devoted himself to the coast cities. He was repulsed from Aspis [Clupea], but captured and razed Neapolis; and in his expedition against the town of Hippo he merely used up time without accomplishing anything. So the Carthaginians took heart both on this account and because some allies had joined them. Learning this, the Romans in the army and city alike had recourse to Scipio and created him consul, notwithstanding his age did not entitle him to hold the office. But

[1] Presumably an error for the Nestus.

φύσει καὶ τῇ τύχῃ χρηστῇ χρήσωνται, πάντα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ἃ δεῖ καὶ φρονοῦσι καὶ πράττουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ βραχὺν νοῦν ἔχοντες οὐδ' ἂν αὖθίς ποτε, οὐδ' εἰ πολλὰ ἔτη διέλθοι, φρονιμώτεροι γένοιντο; ἀμείνων μὲν γὰρ ἄν τις αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ προϊούσης τῆς ἡλικίας ὑπάρξειεν, ἔννους δ' ἐξ ἀνοήτου καὶ ἔμφρων ἐξ ἄφρονος οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ἐκβαίη.

3 Μὴ μέντοι τοὺς νέους ἐς ἀθυμίαν, ὡς καὶ κατεγνωσμένους τὸ μηδὲν τῶν δεόντων πράττειν δύνασθαι, ἐμβάλητε· πᾶν γὰρ τοὐναντίον προτρέπεσθαι αὐτοὺς ὀφείλετε πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτοῖς προθύμως ποιεῖν ἀσκεῖν, ὡς καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ πρὸ τοῦ γήρως ληψομένους· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους βελτίους ποιήσετε, πρῶτον μὲν ἀνταγωνιστὰς πολλοὺς ἀποδείξαντες, ἔπειτ' ἐνδειξάμενοι ὡς καὶ τἆλλα πάντα καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας μάλιστα οὐκ ἐξ ἀριθμοῦ ἐτῶν ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρετῆς ἐμφύτου πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις δώσετε.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 168v (M. p. 546) and Ioann. Damasc. Sacr. Parall. cod. Med. 8, 22 f. 75 (2, 688 sq. Gaisf., 4, 148 sq. Mein.).

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τά τε ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ τοῦ πατρὸς Παύλου καὶ τοῦ πάππου Ἀφρικανοῦ ἐλπίδα παρεῖχον ἅπασι βεβαίαν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων δι' αὐτοῦ κρατήσειν καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα παντελῶς ἐξαιρήσειν.

do the fitting thing? Is it not true that all who enjoy an excellent nature and good fortune both think and do in all things what is right from the very beginning, whereas those who at this age of their life have little sense will never grow more prudent later, even with the lapse of many years? A man may continue to improve upon his former condition as he advances in age, but no fool will ever turn out wise nor any simpleton sensible.

Do not, however, discourage the young men through the idea that they are disqualified from performing any services. On the contrary, you ought to urge them to practise zealously the performance of all the duties that belong to them, and to look for both honours and offices even before they reach old age. For by this course you will render their elders better, too—first, by confronting them with many competitors, and next by making it clear that you are going to establish, not length of years, but innate excellence as the test in conferring honours, and particularly positions of command, upon any citizens.[1]

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his own deeds and the prowess of his father, Paulus, and of his grandfather, Africanus, inspired them all with the firm hope that through him they might vanquish their enemies and utterly destroy Carthage.

[1] These words seem to be from a speech delivered before the senate with reference either to the consulship of Scipio Aemilianus (B.C. 148) or to the Spanish appointment of Scipio Africanus (B.C. 211), preferably the former.

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Ἐν ᾧ δ' ὁ Σκιπίων εἰς τὴν Λιβύην ἐκομίζετο, Μαγκῖνος παραπλέων τὴν Καρχηδόνα χωρίον τι τοῦ τείχους αὐτῆς ἐντὸς ὂν Μεγαλία ὀνομαζόμενον, καὶ ἐπὶ πέτρας ἀποτόμου καθῆκον πρὸς θάλασσαν, πολύ τε τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἀπηρτημένον, καὶ μηδὲ πολλοὺς φρουροὺς ἔχον ὡς τῇ φύσει ὂν ἐρυμνὸν κατανοήσας, κλίμακας ἐξαπιναίως προσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐπανέβη. ἤδη δὲ ἀνελθόντος συνέδραμον μὲν τῶν Καρχηδονίων τινές, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκκροῦσαι αὐτὸν ἠδυνήθησαν. ὁ δὲ πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Πείσωνα τά τε γεγονότα ἐδήλωσε καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπαμῦναι ἠξίωσε. πόρρω δ' ὢν ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ χρήσιμος ὁ Πείσων ἐγένετο. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀγγελίαν νυκτὸς κατὰ τύχην ἐλθὼν εὐθὺς ἐβοήθησεν. εἷλον γὰρ ἂν τὸν Μαγκῖνον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἢ καὶ διέφθειραν, εἰ μὴ παραπλεούσας εἶδον τὰς ναῦς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος. τότε δ' ἠθύμησαν μέν, οὐκ ἀπέστησαν δέ. αἰχμαλώτους οὖν τινας ἔπεμψεν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐροῦντας ὅτι πάρεστι. καὶ τοῦτο γνόντες οὐχ ὑπέμειναν ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν μετεπέμψαντο καὶ ταφρεύμασι καὶ σταυρώμασι τὸ πρὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν διατείχισμα διεφύλαξαν. ὁ μέντοι Σκιπίων τὰ μὲν Μεγαλία τὸν Μαγκῖνον φρουρεῖν κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Πείσωνα καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπῆρεν, ὡς ἂν μετ' αὐτῶν ἔργου ἔχηται. καὶ ἐπανῆλθε ταχέως σὺν τῷ κουφοτάτῳ τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ κατέλαβε τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα εἰσελθόντα καὶ δεινῶς τῷ Μαγκίνῳ ἐπιτιθέμενον· καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ Σκιπίων τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἔλυσεν. ἀφικομένου

BOOK XXI

Zonaras 9, 29.

While Scipio was proceeding to Africa, Mancinus in sailing past Carthage noticed a place called Megalia which was inside the city wall on an abrupt cliff and extended down toward the sea; the place was a long distance away from the rest of the town and had but few guards because of the natural strength of its position. So Mancinus suddenly applied ladders to it from the ships and ascended. When he had already got up there, some of the Carthaginians hastily gathered, but they were unable to repulse him. He then sent to Piso an account of his exploit and a request for assistance. Piso, however, being far in the interior, was of no aid to Mancinus; but Scipio chanced to come along at night just after the receipt of the news and rendered prompt aid. For the Carthaginians would have either captured or destroyed Mancinus, if they had not seen Scipio's vessels sailing past; then they grew discouraged, but would not fall back. So Scipio sent them some captives to tell them that he was at hand; and upon learning this they no longer stood their ground, but retired and fortified with trenches and palisades the cross-wall in front of the houses, meanwhile sending for Hasdrubal. Scipio now left Mancinus to guard Megalia and set out himself to join Piso and the troops, so as to have their support in his operations. He quickly returned with the lightest-armed troops and found that Hasdrubal had entered Carthage and was attacking Mancinus fiercely. The arrival of Scipio put an end to the

B.C. 147

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δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πείσωνος ἤδη, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους αὐλίσασθαι κατά τινας πύλας ἐκέλευσε, καὶ στρατιώτας ἑτέρους πρὸς πυλίδα τινὰ πολὺ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπέχουσαν περιέπεμψε, παραγγείλας αὐτοῖς ἅττα πράξειν ἐχρῆν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τοῦ στρατοῦ κατὰ μέσας νύκτας λαβὼν ἔνδον τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο, αὐτομόλοις χρησάμενος ἄγουσι, καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν πυλίδα παραδραμὼν καὶ τὸν μοχλὸν διακόψας τούς τε ἔξωθεν ἐφεδρεύοντας εἰσήγαγε καὶ τοὺς φύλακας ἔφθειρε. καὶ πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἠπείχθη καθ' ἃς ὁ Πείσων προσήδρευε, τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς τὰ μέσα φυλάττοντας ὀλίγους καθ' ἑκάστους ὄντας τρέπων, ὥστε τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἅμα τε πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ γενόμενα καὶ ὁρᾶν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν μικροῦ πᾶσαν οὖσαν ἐντός. καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα ἀντέσχον, ἔπειτα τὴν μὲν ἄλλην πόλιν ἐξέλιπον, εἰς δὲ τὸν Κώθωνα τήν τε Βύρσαν κατέφυγον. εἶτα ὁ Ἀσδρούβας πάντας τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅπως ἀπόγνωσιν συγγνώμης σχόντες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι προθυμότερον ἀντικαρτερήσωσι· πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὡς προδιδόντας ἑαυτοὺς διεχρήσατο. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων περιεσταύρωσε μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπετείχισεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ ταχέως εἷλε. τά τε γὰρ τείχη καρτερὰ ἦν καὶ οἱ ἐντὸς πολλοὶ ὄντες ἰσχυρῶς ἐν ὀλίγῳ χώρῳ ἠμύνοντο καὶ σίτου ἀφθόνως εἶχον. ὁ γὰρ Βιθίας ὁλκάδας ἀπὸ τῆς ἀντικρὺ τῆς πόλεως ἠπείρου κατὰ κῦμα καὶ ἄνεμον, ὁσάκις σφοδρῶς ἔπνει, ἐς τὸν λιμένα αὐτοῖς εἰσέπεμπε. πρὸς ὅπερ ὁ Σκιπίων μέγα ἔργον καὶ ἐπενόησε καὶ ἐπετέλεσε· τὸν γὰρ εἴσπλουν τοῦ λιμένος

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attack. When Piso too had now arrived, Scipio commanded him to encamp outside the wall opposite certain gates, and he sent other soldiers round to a little gate a long distance away from the main force, with orders as to what they must do. Then he himself about midnight took the strongest part of the army, got inside the wall, under the guidance of deserters, and hurrying round to a point inside the little gate, he hacked the bar in two, let in the men who were on the watch outside, and destroyed the guards. He then hastened to the gate opposite which Piso had his station, routing the intervening guards, who were only a few in each place, so that Hasdrubal by the time he found out what had happened saw that nearly the whole force of the Romans was inside. For a time, indeed, the Carthaginians withstood them; then they abandoned the remainder of the city and fled for refuge to Cotho and the Byrsa. Next Hasdrubal killed all the Roman captives, in order that the Carthaginians, in despair of pardon, might resist with greater zeal. He also made away with many of the natives on the charge that they were betraying their own cause. Scipio surrounded them with a palisade and walled them in, yet it was some time before he captured them. For their walls were strong, and the men inside, being many in number and confined in a small space, made a vigorous resistance. They were well off for food, too; for Bithias, taking advantage of wind and tide, whenever a heavy gale blew, would send merchantmen into the harbour to them from the mainland opposite the city. To overcome this opposition Scipio conceived and executed a remarkable undertaking, namely, the filling up of the narrow entrance

Zonaras 9, 29–30.

στενὸν ὄντα συνέχωσε, χαλεπῶς μὲν καὶ ἐπιπόνως, ὅμως μέντοι ὑπὸ πολυχειρίας τὸ ἔργον ἐξείργαστο. εἴργειν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπεχείρουν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ πολλαὶ μάχαι ἐν τούτῳ ἐγίνοντο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κωλῦσαι τὸ χῶσαι ἠδυνήθησαν.

30. Οἱ οὖν Καρχηδόνιοι, τοῦ στόματος τοῦ λιμένος χωσθέντος, τῇ τοῦ σίτου σπάνει δεινῶς ἐπιέσθησαν· καὶ οἱ μὲν ηὐτομόλουν, οἱ δὲ ἐγκαρτεροῦντες ἔθνησκον, οἱ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ἐγεύοντο. ὅθεν ἀθυμήσας Ἀσδρούβας πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα περὶ σπονδῶν ἔπεμψε· καὶ ἔτυχεν ἂν τῆς ἀδείας, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπασι καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν πρᾶξαι ἠθέλησε. διαμαρτὼν οὖν αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὴν γυναῖκα κατέκλεισεν, ἐπεὶ τῷ Σκιπίωνι ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῆς καὶ τῶν τέκνων διεκηρυκεύσατο· καὶ τἄλλα διῴκει τολμηρότερος γενόμενος διὰ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν. αὐτός τε οὖν καὶ ἄλλοι ἀπονοίᾳ κρατούμενοι καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐμάχοντο, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἡττῶντο, τὰ δ' ἐπεκράτουν, καὶ ἀντεμηχανῶντο πρὸς τὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς μηχανάς. καὶ ὁ Βιθίας δὲ φρούριόν τι ἐρυμνὸν ἔχων καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ τῆς ἠπείρου προϊών, τούς τε Καρχηδονίους ὠφέλει καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκάκου. διὸ καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων τὸ στράτευμα διελών, τὸ μὲν τῇ Καρχηδόνι προσεδρεύειν ἔταξε, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Βιθίαν ἔπεμψεν, ἐπιστήσας αὐτῷ τὸν ὑποστράτηγον τὸν Γάιον Λαίλιον· καὶ αὐτὸς ἑκατέρωσε διεφοίτα ἄμφω ἐπισκοπῶν. καὶ ἥλω τὸ φρούριον. εἶτ' αὖθις πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπολιορκεῖτο ἡ Καρχηδών.

to the harbour. The work was difficult and toilsome, but was nevertheless brought to completion, thanks to the great number of men employed. The Carthaginians, to be sure, undertook to check them, and many battles took place during the course of the work, but they were unable to prevent the filling of the channel.

30. So, when the mouth of the harbour had been filled, the Carthaginians were terribly oppressed by the scarcity of food; and some of them deserted, while others held out and died, and still others ate the dead bodies. Hence Hasdrubal, in discouragement, sent envoys to Scipio with regard to a truce, and would have obtained immunity, had he not desired to secure both safety and freedom for all the rest as well. After he had failed for this reason to accomplish his purpose, he confined his wife in the citadel because she had made overtures to Scipio looking to the safety of herself and her children; and in other respects he grew bolder in his conduct of affairs as a result of despair. He, therefore, and some others, mastered by frenzy, fought both night and day, sometimes losing and sometimes winning; and they devised engines to oppose the Roman engines. Moreover, Bithias, who held a strong fortress and scoured wide stretches of the mainland, was helping the Carthaginians and injuring the Romans. Hence Scipio also divided his army, assigning one half of it to invest Carthage, while he sent the other half against Bithias, placing at the head of it his lieutenant, Gaius Laelius. He himself went back and forth from one division to the other on visits of inspection. Finally the fortress was taken, and the siege of Carthage was once more conducted by the whole army.

Zonaras 9, 30.

Ἀπογνόντες οὖν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μηκέτι ἑκάτερον τεῖχος διασώσασθαι δύνασθαι, εἰς τὸν τῆς Βύρσης περίβολον ἅτε καὶ ἐρυμνότερον ἀνεσκευάσαντο, καὶ μετακομίσαντες ὅσα ἠδύναντο, κατέπρησαν νυκτὸς τὸ νεώριον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ πλείω, ἵνα τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὠφελείας τοὺς πολεμίους στερήσωσιν. ὡς δ' ἔγνων τὸ ἔργον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὸν λιμένα κατέσχον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Βύρσαν ὥρμησαν, καὶ κατασχόντες τὰς ἑκατέρωθεν αὐτῆς οἰκίας οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀεὶ ἐχομένας ἐβάδιζον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς τοίχους διορύσσοντες κάτωθεν διῄεσαν, ἕως πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἄκραν ἀφίκοντο. ἐνταῦθα δὲ γενομένοις οὐκέτι ἀντῆραν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἀλλ' ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο, πλὴν τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου. ἐκεῖνος δὲ μετὰ τῶν αὐτομόλων (ὁ γὰρ Σκιπίων οὐκ ἐσπείσατο αὐτοῖς) εἰς τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἀνειλήθη μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν παίδων, κἀντεῦθεν ἠμύνετο τοὺς προσβάλλοντας, μέχρις οὗ ἐμπρήσαντες τὸν νεὼν οἱ αὐτόμολοι ἐπὶ τὸ τέγος αὐτοῦ ἀνέβησαν, τὴν ἐσχάτην τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνάγκην ἀναμένοντες· τότε γὰρ ἡσσηθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἦλθεν ἱκετηρίαν ἔχων. ἰδοῦσα δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ γυνὴ ἀντιβολοῦντα ὀνομαστὶ ἀνεκάλεσεν, καὶ ἐξονειδίσασα ὅτι ἑαυτῷ τὴν σωτηρίαν πράξας οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἐκείνῃ σπείσασθαι, τὰ τέκνα ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἑαυτὴν προσεπέρριψεν.

Ἑλὼν οὖν οὕτω τὴν Καρχηδόνα Σκιπίων τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐπέστειλε τάδε "Καρχηδὼν ἑάλω· τί οὖν κελεύετε;" ἀναγνωσθέντων οὖν τούτων βουλὴν ἔθεντο περὶ τοῦ τί δέον ποιεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Κάτων κατασκάψαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς Καρχη-

BOOK XXI

Zonaras 9, 30.

The Carthaginians, despairing, consequently, of being any longer able to save both walls, betook themselves to the enclosure of the Byrsa, since it was better fortified, at the same time transferring thither all the objects that they could. Then at night they burned the dockyard and most of the other structures, in order to deprive the enemy of any benefit from them. When the Romans became aware of their action, they occupied the harbour and hastened against the Byrsa. After occupying the houses on each side of it, some of the besiegers walked along on top of the roofs by successively stepping to those adjacent, and others by digging through the walls pushed onward below until they reached the very citadel. When they had got thus far, the Carthaginians offered no further opposition, but sued for peace—all except Hasdrubal. He, together with the deserters, to whom Scipio would grant no truce, crowded into the temple of Aesculapius along with his wife and children; and there he defended himself against the assailants until the deserters set fire to the temple and climbed to the roof to await the last extremity of the flames. Then, vanquished, he came to Scipio holding the suppliant branch. His wife witnessed his entreaties, and after calling him by name and reproaching him for securing safety for himself, when he had not allowed her to obtain terms, threw her children into the fire and then cast herself in. B.C. 146

Thus Scipio took Carthage; and he sent to the senate the following message: "Carthage is taken. What are your orders now?" When these words had been read, they took counsel as to what should be done. Cato expressed the opinion that they ought to

δονίους ἐξαφανίσαι δεῖν ἐγνωμάτευσεν, ὁ δὲ Νασικᾶς φείσασθαι τῶν Καρχηδονίων καὶ ἔτι συνεβούλευε. κἀντεῦθεν εἰς ἀντιλογίαν πολλὴν προήχθη καὶ ἀμφισβήτησιν τὸ συνέδριον, ἕως ἔφη τις ὅτι εἰ καὶ μὴ δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον, ἀλλά γε ἑαυτῶν ἕνεκα φείσασθαι αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖον νομίζοιτο ἄν, ἵν' ἀνταγωνιστὰς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντες ἀρετὴν ἀσκῶσι, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὰς καὶ τρυφὴν τράπωνται, τῶν δυναμένων αὐτοὺς καταναγκάζειν εἰς ἄσκησιν τῶν πολεμικῶν περιαιρεθέντων, καὶ χείρους ὑπ' ἀνασκησίας γένωνται, ἀξιοχρέους ἀντιπολέμους μὴ ἔχοντες. ἐκ τούτων οὖν τῶν λόγων πάντες κατασκάψαι τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὡμογνωμόνησαν, μήποτε εἰρηνήσειν ἐκείνους πιστεύσαντες ἀκριβῶς. καὶ πᾶσα ἄρδην ἀνάστατος γέγονε, καὶ ἐπάρατον ἐψηφίσθη τὸ ἐπ' αὐτὴν κατοικῆσαί τινα. καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἁλόντων οἱ μὲν πλείους εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐνεβλήθησαν κἀκεῖ διεφθάρησαν, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες πλὴν τῶν πάνυ πρώτων ἐπράθησαν· οὗτοι γὰρ οἵ τε ὅμηροι καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας καὶ ὁ Βιθίας ἄλλοι ἄλλῃ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν φρουραῖς ἀδέσμοις κατεβίωσαν. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων δόξης τε ἔτυχε καὶ τιμῆς, καὶ Ἀφρικανὸς οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάππου, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπεκέκλητο πράξεων.

31. Τότε δὲ καὶ ἡ Κόρινθος κατεσκάφη. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κορυφαιότατοι ὑπὸ Παύλου τοῦ Αἰμιλίου μετῳκίσθησαν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οἱ λοιποὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρεσβείαις τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπῄτουν, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔτυχον, καί τινες ἐκείνων τὴν οἴκαδε ἀπογνόντες ἐπάνοδον ἑαυτοὺς διε-

Zonaras 9, 30–31.

raze the city and blot out the Carthaginians, whereas Scipio Nasica still advised sparing the Carthaginians. And thereupon the senate became involved in a great dispute and contention, until some one declared that for the Romans' own sake, if for no other reason, it must be considered necessary to spare them. With this nation for antagonists they would be sure to practise valour instead of turning aside to pleasures and luxury; whereas, if those who were able to compel them to practise warlike pursuits should be removed from the scene, they might deteriorate from want of practice, through a lack of worthy competitors. As a result of the discussion all became unanimous in favour of destroying Carthage, since they felt sure that its inhabitants would never remain entirely at peace. The whole city was therefore utterly blotted out of existence, and it was decreed that for any person to settle upon its site should be an accursed act. The majority of the men captured were thrown into prison and there perished, and some few were sold. But the very foremost men together with the hostages and Hasdrubal and Bithias spent the rest of their lives in different parts of Italy in honourable confinement. Scipio secured both glory and honour and was called Africanus, not after his grandfather, but because of his own achievements.

31. At this time also Corinth was destroyed. The chief men of the Greeks had been deported to Italy by Aemilius Paulus, whereupon their countrymen at first through embassies kept asking for the return of the men, and when their request was not granted, some of the exiles, in despair of ever

72 Ὅτι ἦρξαν τῆς διαφορᾶς οἱ Ἀχαιοί, τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐγκαλοῦντες (διηνέχθησαν γὰρ ἀλλήλοις) ὡς τῶν συμβεβηκότων σφίσιν αἰτίοις γεγονόσι, Διαίου ὅτι[1] μάλιστα τοῦ στρατηγοῦ αὐτοὺς ἐνάγοντος. καὶ τῶν γε Ῥωμαίων καταλλακτὰς αὐτοῖς πολλάκις πεμψάντων οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις, οὓς ἐκεῖνοι διασπάσαι πῃ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ὅπως ἀσθενέστεροι ὦσιν, ἐθελήσαντες ἔπεμψαν, πρόφασιν τὸ μὴ δεῖν τὰς πόλεις τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου γενομένας, ὧν καὶ Κόρινθος ἦν ἔς τε τὰ ἄλλα ἀνθοῦσα καὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ κρατιστεύουσα, μετέχειν αὐτοῦ ποιησά-

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Zonaras 9, 31.

χρήσαντο, χαλεπῶς διέκειντο καὶ πένθος δημόσιον ἐποιήσαντο, τοῖς τε τὰ Ῥωμαίων φρονοῦσι παρὰ σφίσιν ὠργίζοντο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πολέμιόν τι ἐπεδείξαντο, μέχρις οὗ τοὺς περιλιπεῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων ἐκομίσαντο. τότε δὲ διενεχθέντες ἀλλήλοις οἵ τ' ἠδικημένοι καὶ οἱ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἔχοντες ἐπολέμησαν. ἤρξαντο δὲ τῆς διαφορᾶς οἱ Ἀχαιοί, τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐγκαλοῦντες ὡς αἰτίοις τῶν συμβεβηκότων αὐτοῖς· καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλλακτὰς αὐτοῖς στειλάντων οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πόλεμον ὥρμησαν, Κριτόλαον προστησάμενοι. δείσας οὖν ὁ Μέτελλος μὴ

[1] Διαίου ὅτι Reim., διάγουσι(ν) Mss.

The Achaeans began the quarrel, accusing the Lacedaemonians, with whom they were at variance, of having been the cause of their misfortunes; in this they were especially encouraged by Diaeus, the general. And although the Romans repeatedly sent mediators to them, they paid no heed; in fact they came very near slaying the envoys whom the Romans next sent to them. The ostensible mission of these envoys was to insist that the cities which had belonged to Philip, including Corinth,—in other respects a flourishing city and in addition the leader in the congress,—should not take part in that body; yet in reality it was their desire to disrupt the Greek alliance in some manner, so that the members might

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Zonaras 9, 31.

returning to their homes, made away with themselves. The Greeks were greatly distressed at this and made it a matter of public lamentation, besides showing anger toward any persons dwelling among them who favoured the Roman cause; yet they displayed no open signs of hostility until they got back the survivors among their hostages. Then those who had been wronged and those who had obtained a hold upon the goods of others fell into strife with one another and went to war. The Achaeans began the quarrel, accusing the Lacedaemonians of being the cause of their misfortunes. And although the Romans sent mediators to them, they paid no heed, but rather set their faces toward war, appointing Critolaus as their leader. Metellus was consequently afraid that

2 μενοι, παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθον ἀποκτεῖναι. φυγῇ δ' οὖν[1] αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀκροκορίνθου, ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν, προαποχωρησάντων ἐπρεσβεύσαντο μὲν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἀπολογούμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ γεγονότος· οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνους, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν ὄντας ὁρμῆσαι ἔφασκον. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τὴν μὲν σκῆψιν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐλεγξάντων (τοῖς τε γὰρ Καρχηδονίοις ἔτι ἐπολέμουν, καὶ τὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων οὐδέπω καλῶς βέβαια εἶχον), ἄνδρας δὲ στειλάντων,[2] καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν αὐτοῖς, ἂν μηδὲν ἔτι νεωτερίσωσι, δώσειν ὑποσχομένων, τὸ συνέδριον αὐτοῖς οὐ παρέσχον, ἀλλ' ἐς ἕτερόν σφας σύλλογον, ὃς μεθ' ἔκμηνον[3] ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι, ἀνεβάλοντο.—U^R 8 (p. 384).

Zonaras 9, 31.

καὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἅψωνται (ἤδη γὰρ εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν παρῆλθον), προαπήντησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐτρέψατο.

Καὶ τοῦ Κριτολάου πεσόντος διχῇ διῄρητο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς εἰρήνην ἀπέκλιναν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα κατέθεντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔτι ἐστασίαζον τῷ Διαίῳ τὰ πράγματα ἐπιτρέψαντες. ἃ μαθόντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸν Μόμμιον ἔπεμψαν, ὃς τὸν μὲν Μέτελλον ἀπήλλαξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ πολέμου εἴχετο. καί τινα πληγὴν μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς λαβὼν ἐξ ἐνέδρας, τοῦ Διαίου καταδιώξαντος μέχρι τοῦ σφῶν στρατοπέδου τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἀντεπεξῆλθε, καὶ

[1] δ' οὖν Bk., δοῦναι Mss. [2] στειλάντων Leuncl., στείλαντες Mss.
[3] μεθ' ἔκμηνον Leuncl., μεθέγμιον Mss.

be weaker. When the envoys had made their escape by flight from Acrocorinth, where they had been, the Greeks sent an embassy to Rome to offer explanations for what had occurred. It was not against Rome's representatives, they claimed, but against the Lacedaemonians who were with them that the attack had been made. The Romans, still occupied as they were with the war against the Carthaginians, and not as yet in firm control of the Macedonian situation, did not refute their plea, but sent out men,[1] and promised them pardon in case they would refrain from further disturbances. Yet these men were not given a hearing by the congress, but were put off until the next meeting, which was to occur six months later.

Zonaras 9, 31.

they might lay hands also on Macedonia, since they had already appeared in Thessaly; and so he went to meet them and routed them.

At the fall of Critolaus the Greek world was split asunder. Some of them inclined to peace and laid down their weapons, whereas others committed their interests to Diaeus and continued their strife. On learning this the people at Rome sent against them Mummius, who relieved Metellus and himself took charge of the war. When part of his army sustained a slight reverse through an ambuscade and Diaeus pursued the fugitives up to their own camp, Mummius sallied forth against him, routed him,

[1] It is possible that a numeral modifying "men" has dropped out; Reiske suggested ἄνδρας δὲ δέκα ("ten men").

Zonaras 9, 31.

τρεψάμενος αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἦλθε χαράκωμα. ἀθροίσας δὲ δύναμιν ὁ Δίαιος πλείονα συμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρησεν. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἀντεξώρμησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, κατεφρόνησεν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸ μέσον τῶν στρατοπέδων κοῖλον ὂν προῆλθεν. ἰδὼν οὖν τοῦθ' ὁ Μόμμιος, τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς λάθρᾳ ἔπεμψεν, ἵν' ἐκ πλαγίου αὐτοῖς ἐπιγένωνται. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνοι προσβαλόντες αὐτοὺς συνετάραξαν, ἐπήγαγε τὴν φάλαγγα κατὰ πρόσωπον, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐφόνευσεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Δίαιος μὲν ἀπογνοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινε, τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς μάχης περισωθέντων οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐσκεδάσθησαν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι οἴκαδε ἔφυγον. ὅθεν καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ τείχει Κορίνθιοι πάντας ἀπολωλέναι νομίσαντες ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν· καὶ κενὴν αὐτὴν ἀνδρῶν ὁ Μόμμιος ἔλαβε. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κἀκείνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἀπόνως προσεποιήσατο. καὶ τότε μὲν τά τε ὅπλα αὐτῶν καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀνέκειντο καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας τάς τε γραφὰς καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πρὸς κόσμον εἶχον παρείλετο, πεμφθέντων δέ οἱ τοῦ τε πατρὸς καὶ ἄλλων ἐπὶ καταστάσει τῶν ἁλόντων, τείχη τέ τινων περιεῖλε καὶ ἐλευθέρους πάντας καὶ αὐτονόμους πλὴν τῶν Κορινθίων ἀφῆκε. τῆς δὲ Κορίνθου τούς τε οἰκήτορας ἀπέδοτο καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐδημοσίωσε, τά τε τείχη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οἰκοδομήματα πάντα κατέσκαψε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ αὖθίς τινες πρὸς αὐτὴν οἷα μεγίστην συστῶσιν. ἵνα δὲ μήτε τις ἐκείνων λάθῃ μήτε τῶν λοιπῶν τις Ἑλλήνων πραθῇ ὡς Κορίνθιος, συνεκάλεσε, πρὶν ἐκφῆναι

Zonaras 9, 31.

and followed to the Achaean entrenchments. Diaeus now gathered a larger force and undertook to give battle to them, but, as the Romans did not come out against them, he conceived a contempt for them and advanced into the valley lying between the camps. Mummius, seeing this, secretly sent horsemen to assail them on the flank. After these had attacked and thrown the enemy into confusion, he brought up the phalanx in front and caused considerable slaughter. Thereupon Diaeus killed himself in despair, and of the survivors of the battle the Corinthians were scattered over the country, while the rest fled to their homes. Hence the Corinthians within the wall, believing that all their citizens had been lost, abandoned the city, and it was empty of men when Mummius took it. After that he won over without trouble both that people and the rest of the Greeks. He now took possession of their arms, all the offerings that were consecrated in their temples, the statues, paintings, and whatever other ornaments they had; and as soon as his father and some other men were sent out to arrange terms for the vanquished, he caused the walls of some of the cities to be torn down and declared them all to be free and independent except the Corinthians. As for Corinth, he sold the inhabitants, confiscated the land, and demolished the walls and all the buildings, out of fear that some states might again unite with it as the largest city. To prevent any of them from remaining concealed and any of the other Greeks from being sold as Corinthians he assembled all those present before disclosing his purpose, and after causing his

Zonaras 9, 31.

τὸ ποιητέον, πάντας τοὺς παρόντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀφανῶς πως τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐγκυκλωσάμενος ἐκήρυξε τήν τε τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Κορινθίων δούλωσιν. ἔπειτα προσέταξε πᾶσι τῶν παρεστηκότων σφίσι λαβέσθαι, καὶ οὕτω σαφῆ τὴν διάκρισιν αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο.

Καὶ ἡ μὲν Κόρινθος οὕτως ἀνάστατος γέγονε, τὸ δ' ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν παραχρῆμα μὲν καὶ σφαγαῖς καὶ χρημάτων ἐκλογαῖς ἐκακώθη, ἔπειτα ἔν τε ἀδείᾳ καὶ ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τοσαύτῃ ἐγένετο ὥστε λέγειν ὅτι, εἰ μὴ θᾶττον ἑαλώκεισαν, οὐκ ἂν ἐσέσωντο.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν Καρχηδὼν ἥ τε Κόρινθος αἱ ἀρχαῖαι ἐκεῖναι τοῦτο τέλος ἅμα ἔσχον, χρόνῳ δὲ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀποικίαν Ῥωμαίων λαβοῦσαι ἤνθησαν αὖθις καὶ εἰς τὴν παλαιὰν ἐπανῆλθον κατάστασιν.

Zonaras 9, 31.

soldiers to surround them in such a way as not to attract notice, he proclaimed the freedom of all except the Corinthians and the enslavement of these; then, instructing them all to lay hold of those standing beside them he was able to make an accurate distinction between them.

Thus was Corinth overthrown. The rest of the Greek world suffered momentarily from massacres and levies of money, but afterward came to enjoy such immunity and prosperity that they used to say that if they had not been captured promptly, they could not have been saved.

So this end simultaneously befell Carthage and Corinth, those ancient cities; but at a much later date they received colonies of Romans, became again flourishing, and regained their original position.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXII

73 Ὅτι Οὐιρίαθος ἀνὴρ Λυσιτανός, ἀφανέστατος μὲν γένος ὥς γέ τισι δοκεῖ ὤν, περιβοητότατα δὲ ταῖς πράξεσι χρησάμενος, λῃστής τε γέγονεν[1] ἐκ ποιμένος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ στρατηγός. ἐπεφύκει γὰρ καὶ ἤσκητο τάχιστος μὲν διῶξαί τε καὶ φυγεῖν, ἰσχυρότατος δὲ ἐν σταδίᾳ μάχῃ
2 εἶναι· καὶ τήν τε τροφὴν τὴν ἀεὶ παροῦσαν καὶ τὸ ποτὸν τὸ προστυχὸν ἥδιστα ἐλάμβανεν, ὑπαίθριός τε τὸν πλείω τοῦ βίου χρόνον διῃτᾶτο, καὶ ταῖς αὐτοφυέσι στρωμναῖς ἠρκεῖτο. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα παντὸς μὲν καύματος, παντὸς δὲ ψύχους κρείσσων ἦν, καὶ οὔθ' ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ποτε ἐπόνησεν οὔθ' ὑπὸ ἄλλης τινὸς ἀκηδίας ἐταλαιπώρησεν, ἅτε καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐκ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων ὡς καὶ ἀρίστων ἀπολαύων
3 ἱκανώτατα. τοιούτου δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἐκ τῆς φύσεως καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ὄντος, πολὺ ταῖς[2] τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρεταῖς ὑπερέφερε. ταχὺς μὲν γὰρ πᾶν τὸ δέον ἐπινοῆσαι[3] καὶ ποιῆσαι ἦν (τό τε γὰρ πρακτέον ἅμα ἐγίγνωσκε, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ ἠπίστατο), δεινὸς δὲ[4] τά τε ἐμφα-

[1] γέγονεν Rk., γὰρ Ms.
[2] ταῖς Val., ἐς cod.
[3] ἐπινοῆσαι Bs., ἐκνοῆσαι Ms.
[4] δὲ Rk., γὰρ Mss.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXII

Viriathus was a Lusitanian, of very obscure origin, as some think, who gained great renown through his deeds, since from a shepherd he became a robber and later on also a general. He was naturally adapted and had also trained himself to be very swift both in pursuit and in flight, and of powerful endurance in a hand-to-hand conflict. He was glad enough to get any food that came to hand and whatever drink fell to his lot; most of his life he lived under the open sky and was satisfied with nature's bedding. Consequently he was superior to any heat or cold, and was never either troubled by hunger or annoyed by any other privation; for he found full satisfaction for all his needs in whatever he had at hand, as if it were the very best. And yet, possessed of such a physique, as the result both of nature and training, he excelled still more in his mental powers. He was swift to plan and accomplish whatever was needful, for he not only knew what must be done, but also understood the proper occasion for it; and he was equally clever at

νέστατα ἀγνοεῖν καὶ τὰ ἀφανέστατα εἰδέναι
4 προσποιήσασθαι. πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ ὑπηρέτης αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐς πάντα ὁμοίως γιγνόμενος, οὔτε ταπεινὸς οὔτε ἐπαχθὴς ἑωρᾶτο, ἀλλ' οὕτω πρός τε τὴν τοῦ γένους ἀσθένειαν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἰσχύος ἀξίωσιν ἐκέκρατο ὥστε μήτε χείρων τινὸς μήτε κρείσσων δοκεῖν εἶναι. τό τε σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, οὔτε πλεονεξίας οὔτε δυναστείας ἢ καὶ ὀργῆς ἕνεκα τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο, κἀκ τούτου τὰ μάλιστα καὶ φιλοπόλεμος καὶ εὐπόλεμος ἐλογίσθη.—V. 62 (p. 614).

74 Ὅτι ὁ Κλαύδιος ὁ συνάρχων Μετέλλου, πρός τε τὸ γένος[1] ὠγκωμένος καὶ τῷ Μετέλλῳ φθονῶν, ἔτυχεν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ λαχὼν ἄρχειν, καὶ πολέμιον οὐδὲν ἀποδεδειγμένον εἶχε, καὶ ἐπεθύμησε πάντως τινὰ ἐπινικίων πρόφασιν λαβεῖν, καὶ Σαλάσσους Γαλάτας μὴ ἐγκαλουμένους τι ἐξεπολέμωσε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. ἐπέμφθη γὰρ ὡς συμβιβάσων αὐτοὺς τοῖς ὁμοχώροις περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ ἐς τὰ χρυσεῖα ἀναγκαίου διαφερομένοις αὐτοῖς,[2] καὶ τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν πᾶσαν κατέδραμεν . . . ἔπεμψαν δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ τῶν δέκα ἱερέων δύο.—V. 63 (p. 617).

2 Ὅτι Κλαύδιος, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀκριβῶς ἠπίστατο ὅτι οὐκ ἐνενικήκει, ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ τότε

[1] γένος Val., γεγονὼς Ms.
[2] διαφερομένοις αὐτοῖς Kuiper, διαφερομένους αὐτοὺς Ms.

feigning ignorance of the most obvious facts and knowledge of the most hidden secrets. Furthermore, he was not only general but his own assistant as well in every undertaking, and was seen to be neither humble nor overbearing; indeed, in him obscurity of family and reputation for strength were so combined that he seemed to be neither inferior nor superior to any one. And, in fine, he carried on the war not for the sake of personal gain or power nor through anger, but for the sake of warlike deeds in themselves; hence he was accounted at once a lover of war and a master of war.

Claudius, the colleague of Metellus, impelled by B.C. 143
pride of birth and jealousy of Metellus, since he had chanced to draw Italy as his province, where no enemy was assigned to him, was eager to secure by any means some pretext for a triumph; hence he set the Salassi, a Gallic tribe, at war with the Romans, although no complaints were being made against them. For he had been sent to reconcile them with their neighbours who were quarrelling with them about the water necessary for the gold mines, and he overran their entire country . . . the Romans sent him two of the ten priests.

Claudius, even though he realised perfectly well that he had won no victory, nevertheless even then

τοσαύτῃ ὑπερηφανίᾳ ἐχρήσατο ὥσθ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν ἐπινικίων μηδένα λόγον μήτε ἐν τῇ βουλῇ μήτε ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ποιήσασθαι, καθάπερ δὲ ὑπαρχόντων οἱ πάντως αὐτῶν κἂν μηδεὶς ψηφίσηται, τὰ ἐς αὐτὰ ἀναλώματα αἰτῆσαι.—V. 64 (p. 617).

76 Ὅτι Μόμμιος[1] καὶ ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς παμπληθὲς ἀλλήλων τοῖς τρόποις ἐς πάντα διέφερον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπί τε τὸ σωφρονέστατον καὶ μετὰ ἀκριβείας, μηδενὸς μηδὲν προτιμῶν, ἦρξεν, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν τε ἄλλων ὡς ἑκάστους εὔθυνεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Μόμμιος πρός τε τὸ δημοτικώτερον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρωπινώτερον οὔτ' αὐτός τινι κηλῖδα προσέθηκε, καὶ συχνὰ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πραχθέντων,
2 ὅσα γε καὶ ἐνεδέχετο, κατέλυσεν. ἐς τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐπιεικείας φύσει προήκων ἦν ὥστε καὶ τῷ Λουκούλλῳ χρῆσαί τε ἀγάλματα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Τυχαίου, ὃ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰβηρικοῦ πολέμου κατεσκεύασε, καθιέρωσιν, καὶ μὴ βουληθέντος αὐτὰ ὡς καὶ ἱερὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀναθέσεως γεγονότα ἀποδοῦναι μηδεμίαν ὀργὴν ποιήσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου ὀνόματι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ λάφυρα περιιδεῖν ἀνακείμενα.—V. 65 (p. 618).

77 Ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ἐσφάλη καὶ αἰσχύνην δεινὴν ὦφλεν· ποταμὸν γάρ τινα διὰ τῆς τῶν Νουμαντίνων χώρας ῥέοντα βουληθεὶς ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας

[1] Μόμμιος Val., κλαύδιος Ms.

displayed such arrogance as not to say a word in either the senate or the assembly about the triumph; but acting as if it belonged to him in any case, even if no one should vote to that effect, he asked for the necessary funds.

As regards their characters, Mummius and Africanus were utterly different from each other in every respect. The latter performed his official duties [as censor] with the strictest integrity and with impartiality, not esteeming one person above another; indeed, he called to account many of the senators and many of the knights, as well as other individuals. Mummius, on the other hand, was more popular in his sympathies and more charitable; he not only attached no stigma himself to any one, but he even undid many of the acts of Africanus, whenever it was possible. In fact, he was of such an amiable nature that he even lent some statues to Lucullus for the consecration of the temple of Felicitas (which he had built from the booty gained in the Spanish war), and then, when that general was unwilling to return them on the ground that they had become sacred as a result of the dedication, he showed no anger, but permitted his own spoils to lie there offered up in the other's name. B.C. 142

[Pompeius] also received many setbacks and incurred great disgrace. There was a river flowing through the country of the Numantines that he wished to B.C. 142

διεξόδου παρατρέψαι,[1] ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτῶν ἐφεῖναι, τοῦτο μὲν ἰσχυρῶς πονηθεὶς ἐξειργάσατο, πολλοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἀποβαλὼν οὔτε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄφελος ἐκ τῆς παρεκτροπῆς γενέσθαι οὔτε ἐκείνοις βλάβος . . .—V. 66 (p. 618).

78 Ὅτι Καιπίων[2] τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, τοὺς δὲ οἰκείους πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἔδρασεν, ὥστε καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπολέσθαι. χαλεπῶς τε γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τραχέως τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἱππεῦσι χρωμένου, πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα ταῖς νυξὶν ὅτι μάλιστα διέσκωπτον καὶ διεθρόουν, καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον γε ἐκεῖνος διὰ τοῦτ' ἠγανάκτει, ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐτώ-
2 θαζον, ὅπως ἐξοργίζοιτο. ὡς οὖν τὸ πραττόμενον ἔνδηλον ἦν, ὑπεύθυνος δὲ οὐδεὶς εὑρίσκετο, ὑποτοπήσας ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων αὐτὸ γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ἐς οὐδένα τρέψαι δυνηθεὶς τὴν αἰτίαν, πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὀργὴν ἔφερεν, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἑξακοσίους ὄντας τὸν ποταμόν, παρ' ᾧ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, μετὰ μόνων ἱπποκόμων διαβῆναι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ Οὐιρίαθος ηὐλίζετο ξυλίσασθαι. προύπτου δὲ δὴ τοῦ κινδύνου πᾶσιν ὄντος, οἱ χιλίαρχοι καὶ οἱ ὑποστράτηγοι ἐδέοντο
3 αὐτοῦ μὴ ἀπολέσαι σφᾶς. οἱ δὲ ἱππῆς ὀλίγον ἐπισχόντες ὡς καὶ ἐκείνων αὐτοῦ ἀκούσοντος, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐνεδίδου, ἱκετεῦσαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπηξίωσαν, οὗπερ που καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγλίχετο, διολέσθαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἤ τι ἐπιεικὲς φθέγξασθαι

[1] παρατρέψαι Val., παραστρέψαι Ms.
[2] Καιπίων Val., καπίων Ms.

turn aside from its ancient channel and let in upon their fields, and after tremendous exertions he accomplished this; but he lost many soldiers, and no advantage from turning it aside came to the Romans, nor yet any harm to the enemy . . .

Caepio accomplished nothing worthy of mention against the foe, but visited many injuries upon his own men, so that he even came near being killed by them. For he treated them all, and especially the cavalry, with such harshness and cruelty that a great number of unseemly jokes and stories were told about him during the nights; and the more he grew vexed at it, the more they jested in the endeavour to infuriate him. When it became known what was going on and no one could be found guilty,—though he suspected it was the doing of the cavalry,—since he could not fix the responsibility upon anybody, he turned his anger against them all, and he commanded them, six hundred in number, to cross the river beside which they were encamped, accompanied only by their grooms, and to bring wood from the mountain on which Viriathus was bivouacking. The danger was manifest to all, and the tribunes and lieutenants begged him not to destroy them. The cavalry waited for a little while, thinking he might listen to the others, and when he would not yield, they scorned to entreat him, as he was most eager for them to do, but choosing rather to perish utterly than to speak a respectful word to him, they

πρὸς αὐτὸν ἑλόμενοι ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ τεταγμένον· καὶ αὐτοῖς τό τε τῶν συμμάχων ἱππικὸν καὶ ἄλλοι ἐθελονταὶ συνεξῆλθον. καὶ τόν τε ποταμὸν διέβησαν, καὶ τὴν ὕλην τεμόντες περὶ τὸ στρατήγιον αὐτοῦ παρενέβαλον ὡς καὶ καταπρήσοντες αὐτόν. κἂν κατεκαύθη, εἰ μὴ προεξέφυγεν.—V. 67 (p. 618).

75 Ὅτι Ποπίλιος οὕτω κατεφόβησε τὸν Οὐιρίαθον ὥστε καὶ ὑπὲρ σπονδῶν οἱ εὐθύς, πρὶν καὶ μάχης τινὸς πειραθῆναι, προσπέμψαι, τούς τε κορυφαίους τῶν ἀποστάντων[1] ἀπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐξαιτηθέντα τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ κηδεστὴς αὐτοῦ,[2] καίπερ ἰδίαν δύναμιν ἔχων, ἐφονεύθη, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκδοῦναι, ὧν πάντων ὁ ὕπατος τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέκοψε. κἂν παντελῶς κατελύσατο, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ᾐτήθη· τοῦτο γὰρ οὔτ' αὐτὸς οὔτε τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ὑπέμεινε ποιῆσαι.[3]—U^G 17 (p. 383).

[1] ἀποστάντων Leuncl., ἀποστατῶν Mss.
[2] αὐτοῦ Leuncl., αὐτοῦ ἦν Ms.
[3] ὑπέμεινε ποιῆσαι Polak, ὑπομεῖναι ἐποίησεν Mss.

set out on the appointed mission. And the horsemen of the allies and other volunteers accompanied them. They crossed the river, cut the wood, and piled it in all around the general's quarters, intending to burn him to death. And he would have perished in the flames, if he had not fled away in time.

Popilius so terrified Viriathus that the latter immediately sent to him in regard to peace before they had made any trial of battle at all, killed some of the leaders of the rebels whose surrender had been demanded by the Romans (among these his son-in-law, though commanding his own force, was slain) and delivered up the rest, all of whom had their hands cut off by the consul's order. And he would have agreed to a complete truce, if their weapons had not also been demanded; with this condition neither he nor the rest of the soldiers would comply. B.C. 139

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXIII

79 Ὅτι ἐλθόντων Νουμαντίνων πρέσβεων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἐδέξαντο αὐτούς, ἵνα μὴ καὶ βεβαιοῦν ἐκ τούτου τὰς σπονδὰς δόξωσι. ξένια μέντοι σφίσι καὶ ὣς ἐξέπεμψαν, μὴ βουληθέντες πω τὴν ἐλπίδα αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ συναλλαγη-
2 σομένων ἀφελέσθαι. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Μαγκῖνον τήν τε ἀνάγκην τῶν ὡμολογημένων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν σεσωσμένων, ὅτι τε πάνθ᾽ ὅσα καὶ πρότερον ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐκέκτηντο εἶχον· ἠξίουν τ᾽ αὐτοὺς μὴ πρὸς τὴν παροῦσάν σφων ἄδειαν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν τότε περιστάντα τοὺς στρατιώτας κίνδυνον ἐκλογίζεσθαι οὐχ ὅσα ἔδει
3 γεγονέναι, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο πραχθῆναι. οἱ δὲ Νουμαντῖνοι πολλὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς προτέρας σφῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς εὐνοίας, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνων μετὰ ταῦτα ἀδικίας, ὑφ᾽ ἧς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν, τήν τε τοῦ Πομπηίου ψευδορκίαν προέφερον, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Μαγκίνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σωτηρίας εὐεργεσίαν ἀπῄτουν. καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς ἔλυσαν καὶ τὸν Μαγκῖνον ἐκδοθῆναι τοῖς Νουμαντίνοις ἔγνωσαν.—U[a] 18 (p. 383) and καὶ τὸν Μάγκινον—ἔγνωσαν Suid. *s.vv.* ἔγνω and Μάγκινος.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXIII

The Romans received the Numantine ambassadors, on their arrival, outside the walls, in order that their reception might not seem to imply a ratification of the truce. However, they sent gifts of friendship notwithstanding, since they did not wish to deprive them as yet of the hope of coming to terms. The associates of Mancinus told of the necessity of the compact made and the number of the saved, and stated that they still held all their former possessions in Spain; and they besought their countrymen to look at the matter not in the light of their present immunity, but with reference to the danger that had at the time encompassed the soldiers, and to consider not what ought to have been done, but what had been possible. The Numantines, for their part, had much to say about their previous good-will toward the Romans and much also about the subsequent injustice of the latter, by reason of which they had been forced into war, and about the perjury of Pompeius; and they asked for kindly treatment in return for the preservation of Mancinus and the rest. But the Romans terminated the truce and also decided that Mancinus should be given up to the Numantines. B.C. 136

81 Ὅτι ὁ Κλαύδιος πολλὰ ἂν καὶ ἄτοπα ὑπὸ τραχύτητος εἰργάσατο, εἰ μήπερ ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ Κύιντος ἐκώλυσεν. ἐπιεικὴς γὰρ ὢν καὶ ἐναντιωτάτην αὐτῷ φύσιν ἔχων ὀργῇ μὲν οὐδέν οἱ ἀντέπραξεν, ἐνδιδοὺς δέ πῃ καὶ πράως πως αὐτῷ χρώμενος οὕτως αὐτὸν μετεχειρίσατο ὥστε ἐλάχιστα πικράνασθαι.—V. 68 (p. 621).

82 Ὅτι ὁ Φούριος ἐξήγαγεν ἐν τοῖς ὑποστρατήγοις τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν Μέτελλον, καίπερ καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐχθροὺς ὄντας, ὅπως ὡς καὶ μέγα τι πράξων τόν τε ἔλεγχον τῶν ἔργων ἀκριβῆ δι' αὐτῶν ποιήσηται, καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ παρὰ ἀκόντων σφῶν λάβῃ.—V. 69 (p. 621).

Claudius by reason of his harshness would have done many outrageous deeds, had he not been restrained by his colleague Quintus.[1] For the latter, who was amiable and possessed exactly the opposite temperament, did not oppose him with anger in any matter, but in fact occasionally yielded to him, and by gentle behaviour so managed him that he found very few opportunities for irritation.

Furius took out among his lieutenants both Pompeius and Metellus, though they were hostile both to him and to each other; for, expecting to achieve some great success, he wished to have in them sure witnesses to his deeds and to receive the evidence of his prowess from their unwilling lips.

[1] Ap. Claudius Pulcher and Q. Fulvius Nobilior were censors in B.C. 136.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXIV

83 Ὅτι ὁ Γράκχος ὁ Τιβέριος ἐτάραξε τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καίπερ καὶ γένους ἐς τὰ πρῶτα πρὸς τὸν πάππον τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν ἀνήκων, καὶ φύσει ἀξίᾳ αὐτοῦ χρώμενος, τά τε τῆς παιδείας ἔργα ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἀσκήσας, καὶ φρόνημα μέγα ἔχων· ὅσῳ γὰρ πλείω καὶ ἰσχυρότερα ταῦτα ἐκέκτητο, μᾶλλον ἔς τε φιλοτιμίαν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν προήχθη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἅπαξ ἔξω τοῦ βελτίστου παρετράπη, καὶ
2 ἄκων ἐς τὸ κάκιστον ἐξώκειλε. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν Νουμαντίνων ἐπινίκια ἀπεψηφίσθη, καὶ αὐτός, τιμηθήσεσθαι πρότερον ἅτε καὶ πρυτανεύσας αὐτὰ ἐλπίσας, οὐχ ὅπως τοιούτου τινὸς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεκινδύνευσεν ἐκδοθῆναι, ἔγνω καὶ τὰ πράγματα οὐκ ἀπ᾽ ἀρετῆς οὐδὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀληθείας,
3 ἀλλ᾽ ὥς που καὶ ἔτυχεν, ἐξεταζόμενα. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δόξης ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ ἀφῆκε,

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXIV

Tiberius Gracchus caused an upheaval of the Roman state notwithstanding the fact that he belonged to one of the foremost families through his grandfather, Africanus, that he possessed a natural endowment worthy of the latter, had received a most thorough course of education, and had a proud spirit. For in direct proportion to the number and magnitude of the advantages he possessed was the allurement they offered him to follow his ambition; and when once he had turned aside from what was best, he drifted, quite in spite of himself, into what was worst. It began with his being refused a triumph[1] over the Numantines; he had previously been hoping to be honoured inasmuch as he had conducted the negotiations, but so far from obtaining any such reward, he actually came near being delivered up. Then he decided that deeds were estimated not on the basis of worth or genuineness, but according to mere chance. So he abandoned this road to fame as B.C. 133

[1] The excerptor is here guilty of carelessness, as the word πρυτανεύσας shows. This word is used of "obtaining" a truce or peace on behalf of another, and has no connection with a triumph. In place of "triumph" we should probably read

τρόπον δέ τινα πρωτεῦσαι πάντως ἐπιθυμησας, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τοῦ ὁμίλου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς βουλῆς ἐξεργάσεσθαι προσδοκήσας, ἐκείνῳ προσέθετο.—V. 70 (p. 621).

4 Ὅτι Μᾶρκος Ὀκτάουιος τῷ Γράκχῳ διὰ φιλονεικίαν συγγενικὴν ἑκὼν ἀντηγωνίζετο. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οὐδὲν μέτριον ἐπράττετο, ἀλλ' ἀντιφιλονεικοῦντες περιγενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἀλλήλων ἢ τὸ κοινὸν ὠφελῆσαι, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ βίαια, ὥσπερ ἐν δυναστείᾳ τινὶ ἀλλ' οὐ δημοκρατίᾳ, ἔπραξαν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄτοπα, ὥσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ τινὶ ἀλλ'
5 οὐκ εἰρήνῃ, ἔπαθον. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εἷς πρὸς ἕνα, τοῦτο δὲ πολλοὶ κατὰ συστάσεις[1] λοιδορίας τε ἐπαχθεῖς καὶ μάχας, οὐχ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τῇ τε ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐποιοῦντο, τῇ μὲν[2] προφάσει τῇ τοῦ νόμου χρώμενοι, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πάντα διασπευδόμενοι, ὥστε ἐν μηδενὶ ἀλλήλων
6 ἐλαττοῦσθαι. κἀκ τούτου οὔτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν εἰθισμένων ἐν κόσμῳ συνέβαινεν οὔθ' αἱ ἀρχαὶ τὰ νενομισμένα ἔπρασσον, τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια ἐπέπαυτο καὶ συμβόλαιον οὐδὲν ἐγίγνετο, ἄλλη τε ταραχὴ καὶ ἀκρισία[3] πανταχοῦ πολλὴ ἦν· καὶ ὄνομα πόλεως ἔφερον, στρατοπέδου δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπεῖχον.[4]—V. 71 (p. 622).

[1] συστάσεις Rk., στάσεις Ms.
[2] ἐποιοῦντο, τῇ μὲν Rk., ἐποιοῦντο. τῇ μὲν γὰρ Ms.
[3] ἄλλη τε ταραχὴ καὶ ἀκρισία Kuiper, ἀλλ' ἥ τε ταραχὴ καὶ ἡ ἀκρισία Ms. [4] ἀπεῖχον Val., εἶχον Ms.

unsafe, and since he desired by all means to become a leader in some way, and believed that he could accomplish this better with the aid of the populace than with that of the senate, he attached himself to the former.

Marcus Octavius, because of a family feud with Gracchus, willingly became his opponent. Thereafter there was no semblance of moderation; but zealously vying, as they did, each to prevail over the other rather than to benefit the state, they committed many acts of violence more appropriate in a despotism than in a democracy, and suffered many unusual calamities appropriate to war rather than to peace. For in addition to their individual conflicts there were many who banded together and indulged in bitter abuse and conflicts, not only throughout the city generally, but even in the very senate-house and the popular assembly. They made the [proposed] law [1] their pretext, but were in reality putting forth every effort in all directions not to be surpassed by each other. The result was that none of the usual business was carried on in an orderly way: the magistrates could not perform their accustomed duties, courts came to a stop, no contract was entered into, and other sorts of confusion and disorder were rife everywhere. The place bore the name of city, but was no whit different from a camp.

therefore "treaty": "It began with the rejection of his treaty with the Numantines." Dio doubtless mentioned a triumph in connection with the honours expected.

[1] The law proposed by Gracchus.

7 Ὅτι ὁ Γράκχος τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἐκ τοῦ ὁμίλου νόμους τινὰς ἐπικουροῦντας ἔγραφε, καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱππέας μετῆγε, φύρων καὶ ταράσσων πάντα τὰ καθεστηκότα, ὅπως ἔκ γε τούτου ἀσφαλείας τινὸς ἐπιλάβηται.
8 καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα αὐτῷ προεχώρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἦν καὶ ἔμελλεν ἀπαλλαγεὶς αὐτῆς αὐτίκα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑποβληθήσεσθαι, ἐπεχείρησε καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπιὸν ἔτος μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ δημαρχῆσαι καὶ τὸν πενθερὸν ὕπατον ἀποδεῖξαι, μηδὲν μήτ' εἰπεῖν μήθ' ὑποσχέσθαι τισὶν ὀκνῶν. καὶ πενθίμην ἐσθῆτα πολλάκις ἐνεδύετο, τήν τε μητέρα καὶ τὰ παιδία ἐς τὸ πλῆθος παρῆγε συνδεόμενα.—V. 72 (p. 622).

84 Ὅτι Σκιπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς φιλοτιμίᾳ πλείονι παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον τό τε ἁρμόζον τῇ ἄλλῃ αὐτοῦ ἀρετῇ ἐχρῆτο. οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν[1] τις αὐτῷ θανόντι ἐφήσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, καίπερ βαρύτατον αὐτόν σφισι νομίζοντες εἶναι, ἐπόθησαν· χρήσιμόν τε γὰρ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ ἑώρων, καὶ δεινὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἂν σφεῖς παθεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
2 προσεδόκων. ὑπεξαιρεθέντος δὲ τούτου πάντα αὖθις τὰ τῶν δυνατῶν ἠλαττώθη, ὥστε ἐπ' ἀδείας τοὺς γεωνόμους πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν Ἰταλίαν πορθῆσαι. καί μοι ἐς τοῦτο ὅτι μάλιστα ἀποσκῆ-

[1] ἀντιστασιωτῶν Dind., ἀντιστασιαστῶν Ms.

Gracchus was proposing certain laws for the benefit of those of the populace serving in the army, and was transferring the courts from the senate to the knights, disturbing and overturning all established customs in order that he might be enabled to lay hold on safety in some wise. And when not even this proved of advantage to him, but his term of office was drawing to a close, when he would be immediately exposed to the attacks of his enemies, he attempted to secure the tribuneship for the following year also, in company with his brother, and to appoint his father-in-law consul; and to obtain this end he did not hesitate to make any statement or promise anything whatsoever to people. Often, too, he put on mourning and brought his mother and children into the presence of the populace to join their entreaties to his.

Scipio Africanus indulged his ambition more than B.C. 129 was fitting or compatible with his general excellence. Consequently[1] none of his rivals took pleasure in his death, but, although they thought him a great obstacle in their way, even they felt his loss. For they saw that he was valuable to the state and they never expected that he would cause any serious trouble even to them. But after he was out of the way the whole power of the nobles was again diminished, so that the land commissioners ravaged at will practically all Italy. And this in particular

[1] Apparently this particle refers back to some eulogistic remark about Scipio omitted by the excerptor.

ψαι δοκεῖ[1] τό τε[2] πλῆθος τῶν λίθων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατενεχθέντων καὶ ἐς ναούς τέ τινας ἐμπεσόντων καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀποκτεινάντων, καὶ τὰ δάκρυα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ἔκλαυσε γὰρ[3] ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ὥστε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κατακόψαι τε τὸ βρέτας καὶ καταποντῶσαι ἐκ συμβουλῆς μάντεων ψηφίσασθαι.—V. 73 (p. 625).

[1] δοκεῖ inserted by Val. [2] τε Bk., γε Ms.
[3] ἔκλαυσε γὰρ v. Herw., ἔκλαυσεν γὰρ ἔκλαυσεν Ms.

seems to me to have been the meaning of the mass of stones that had poured down from heaven, falling upon some of the temples and killing men, and of the tears of Apollo. For the god had wept for three days, so that the Romans on the advice of the soothsayers voted to hew the statue in pieces and to sink it in the sea.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXV

85 Ὅτι ὁ Γράκχος τὴν μὲν γνώμην ὁμοίαν τῷ
ἀδελφῷ εἶχεν, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ἐκεῖνος μὲν[1] ἀπ'
ἀρετῆς ἐς φιλοτιμίαν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐς κακίαν
ἐξώκειλεν, οὗτος δὲ ταραχώδης τε φύσει ἦν
καὶ ἑκὼν ἐπονηρεύετο, τῇ δὲ δὴ παρασκευῇ τῶν
λόγων πολὺ αὐτοῦ προέφερε. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ταῖς
τε ἐπινοίαις κακοτροπωτέραις καὶ ταῖς τόλμαις
προχειροτέραις τῇ τε αὐθαδείᾳ πλείονι πρὸς
2 πάντας[2] ὁμοίως ἐχρῆτο. πρῶτός τε ἐν τοῖς συλ-
λόγοις μεταξὺ δημηγορῶν[3] ἐβάδιζε, καὶ τὸν βρα-
χίονα πρῶτος ἀπεγύμνωσεν, ὥστε μηδέτερον
αὐτῶν κακὸν[4] ἐξ ἐκείνου νομισθῆναι. καὶ ἐπειδή
γε πολλῇ μὲν πυκνότητι ἐνθυμημάτων πολλῇ
δὲ καὶ σφοδρότητι ὀνομάτων ἐπίπαν ἐδημηγόρει,
καὶ ἐκ τούτου οὔτε κατέχειν ῥᾳδίως ἑαυτὸν ἐδύ-
νατο καὶ[5] πολλάκις ἐς ἃ οὐκ ἤθελεν εἰπεῖν ἐξε-
φέρετο, αὐλητὴν ἐπήγετο, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου ὑπαυ-
λοῦντός οἱ ἐρρυθμίζετο καὶ ἐμετρίαζεν, ἢ καὶ εἴ
3 πῃ καὶ ὣς ἐξέπιπτεν καθίστατο. τοιοῦτος οὖν

[1] μὲν added by Val. [2] πάντας v. Herw., πάντα Ms.
[3] δημηγορῶν Bk., δημηγοριῶν Ms. [4] αὐτῶν κακὸν Salmasius, κακὸν αὐτῶν Ms. [5] καὶ Bk., καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ms.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXV

Gracchus had the same principles as his brother; only the latter had drifted from excellence into ambition and thence into baseness, whereas this man was naturally turbulent and played the rogue voluntarily; and he far surpassed the other in his gift of language. For these reasons his designs were more mischievous, his daring more spontaneous, and his arrogance greater toward all alike. He was the first to walk up and down in the assemblies while delivering a speech and the first to bare his arm; hence neither of these practices has been thought improper since his time. And because his speaking was generally characterised by great condensation of thought and vigour of language and he consequently was unable to restrain himself easily, but was often led to say more than he wished, he used to bring in a flute-player, and from him, as he played an accompaniment, he would gain moderation and self-control; or, if even then he managed to get out of bounds, he would stop. This was the sort of man

δή τις ὢν τῇ τε πολιτείᾳ ἐπέθετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπώμοτον οὔτ' εἰπεῖν οὔτε πρᾶξαι ποιούμενος μέγιστος δι' ἐλαχίστου παρά τε τῷ ὁμίλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐγένετο. τό τε γενναῖον καὶ τὸ βουλεῦον πᾶν, εἰ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐβεβιώκει, . . . [1] νῦν δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πολλῆς δυναστείας ἐπίφθονος καὶ τοῖς στασιώταις γενόμενος ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ τέχναις ἐσφάλη.—V. 74 (p. 625).

[1] Lacuna recognized by Val.

who attacked the constitution, and, by assuming no speech or act to be forbidden, in very brief time gained the greatest influence with the populace and the knights. All the nobility and the senatorial party, if he had lived longer, [would have been overthrown], but, as it was, his great power caused him to be hated even by his followers, and he was overthrown by his own methods. B.C. 121

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXVI

87 Ὅτι αἱ ἱέρειαι τὸ πλεῖστον αὐταὶ τοῦ τε ὀλέ-
θρου καὶ τῆς αἰσχύνης ὦφλον, συχνοῖς δὲ δὴ καὶ
ἄλλοις μεγάλων κακῶν αἴτιαι ἐγένοντο, ἥ τε
πόλις ἅπασα ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐταράχθη. ἐκλογιζό-
μενοι γὰρ ὅτι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἄχραντα καὶ τὰ
ὑπὸ τῆς θρησκείας ἅγια ἔκ τε τοῦ φόβου[1] τῆς
τιμωρίας κόσμια ἐλυμάνθη, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχ
ὑπετόπουν τῶν αἰσχίστων καὶ ἀνοσιωτάτων δύ-
2 νασθαι γενέσθαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰς κολάσεις
οὐ μόνων τῶν ἐλεγχθέντων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
πάντων τῶν αἰτιαθέντων μίσει τοῦ συμβεβηκότος
ἐποιήσαντο. ὅθεν οὐκ ἐκ γυναικείας ἔτι ἀσελ-
γείας,[2] ἀλλ' ἐκ δαιμονίας τινὸς ὀργῆς σύμπαντα
τὰ[3] κατ' αὐτὰς συμβῆναι ἔδοξεν.—V. 75 (p. 626).
3 Ὅτι τρεῖς ἅμα ἠνδρώθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν Μαρκία
μὲν αὐτή[4] τε καθ' αὑτὴν καὶ πρὸς ἕνα τινὰ
ἱππέα ᾐσχύνθη, κἂν διέλαθεν, εἰ μήπερ ἡ ζήτησις
ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀρθεῖσα καὶ ἐκείνην
προσκατέλαβεν· Αἰμιλία δὲ καὶ Λικιννία πλῆθος

[1] φόβου Val., φθόνου Ms. [2] ἔτι ἀσελγείας Bs., αἰτίας ἀλγεῖν Ms.
[3] τὰ added by Rk. [4] αὐτὴ Reim., τῆι Ms.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXVI

The priestesses bore the chief punishment and shame themselves, but they proved the source of great evils to various others as well, while the entire city was agitated on their account. For the people, considering that what was immaculate by law and sacred by religion and decent through fear of punishment had been polluted, were ready to believe that anything most shameful and unholy might be done. For this reason they visited punishment, not only on the convicted, but also on all the rest who had been accused, to show their hatred of what had occurred. Hence the whole affair in which the women were concerned seemed now to have been due not so much to feminine incontinence as to the wrath of some god. B.C. 114

Three had known men at the same time. Of these Marcia had acted by herself, granting her favours to one single knight, and would never have been discovered, had not the investigation into the cases of the others extended and involved her also; Aemilia and Licinia, on the other hand, had a multitude of

ἐραστῶν ἔσχον καὶ δι' ἀλλήλων ὑβρίζοντο. τὸ
μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἰδίᾳ καὶ δι' ἀπορ-
4 ρήτων ὡς καὶ μόνῳ ἑκάστῳ συνεγίγνοντο· ἔπειτα
αὐταί τε πάντα τὸν καὶ ὑποπτεῦσαι μηνῦσαί
τέ τι δυνάμενον ἐς σιωπὴν ἀναγκαίαν μισθῷ τῆς
ὁμιλίας προκατελάμβανον, καὶ οἱ προδιειλεγμένοι
σφίσι ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες ἔφερον, ἵνα μὴ κατάφωροι
τῇ ἀγανακτήσει γένωνται. ὥστε καὶ καθ' ἕνα
καὶ κατὰ πολλούς, τοῦτο μὲν ἰδίᾳ, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ
κοινῇ, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ὁμιλεῖν, καὶ τῷ μὲν τῆς
Αἰμιλίας ἀδελφῷ τὴν Λικιννίαν, τῷ δὲ ταύτης
5 τὴν Αἰμιλίαν συνεῖναι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω [1]
γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἔλαθεν, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν
ἀνδρῶν, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ ἐλευθέρων
καὶ δούλων, συγγιγνωσκόντων ὅμως [2] ἐπὶ μακρό-
τατον ἔλαθε, πρὶν δὴ Μάνιός τις, ὅσπερ που καὶ
τοῦ παντὸς κακοῦ πρῶτος καὶ ὑπηρέτης καὶ
συνεργὸς ἐγεγόνει, κατεμήνυσεν αὐτό, ὅτι μήτε
ἐλευθερίας μήτ' ἄλλου μηδενὸς ὧν ἤλπισεν
ἔτυχεν. καὶ ἦν γὰρ οὐ προαγωγεῦσαι [3] μόνον
ἀλλὰ καὶ διαβαλεῖν συγκροῦσαί τέ τινας
δεινότατος . . .—V. 76 (p. 626).

88 Ὅτι ἦν [4] μέν που καθ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα δόξαν αὐτῷ φέροντα, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν τοῦ Κάτωνος συμφοράν, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ πολλῇ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας

[1] οὕτω Bs., οὐ Ms. [2] ὅμως Dind., ὅμως ὅπως Ms.
[3] προαγωγεῦσαι Val., προσαγορεῦσαι Ms.
[4] ὅτι ἦν St., ὅτι τῷ μάρκῳ δρούσῳ ἦν Ms.

lovers and carried on their wanton behaviour with each other's help. At first they surrendered themselves to some few privately and secretly, telling each man that he was the only one favoured. Later they themselves bound every one who could suspect and inform against them to certain silence in advance by the price of intercourse with them, and those who had previously enjoyed their favours, though they saw this, yet had to put up with it in order not to be detected through a display of their vexation. So besides holding commerce with various others, now singly, now in groups, sometimes privately, sometimes all together, Licinia enjoyed the society of the brother of Aemilia, and Aemilia that of Licinia's brother. These doings were hidden for a very long time, and though many men and many women, both freemen and slaves, were in the secret, it was kept concealed for a very long period, until one Manius, who seems to have been the first to assist and coöperate in the whole evil, gave information of the matter, because he had not obtained freedom nor any of the other objects of his hope. And since he was very skilful not only at leading women into prostitution, but also in sowing slander and discord among them, . . .

This was calculated to bring him [Marcus Drusus] glory, first of itself, and secondly in the light of Cato's disaster;[1] and because he also had shown great B.C. 112

[1] In his campaign against the Scordisci, a Thracian tribe, in B.C. 114.

ἐχρήσατο, τήν τε κατόρθωσιν ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῆς ἀληθείας πεποιῆσθαι ἔδοξε, καὶ εὔκλειαν μείζω τῶν ἔργων ἐκτήσατο.—V. 77 (p. 629).

89 Ὅτι τῷ Ἰουγούρθᾳ ὁ Μέτελλος προσπέμψαντί οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης πολλὰ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον ὡς καὶ μόνον ἐπέταξε, καὶ οὕτως ὁμήρους τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅπλα τούς τε ἐλέφαντας καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τούς τε αὐτομόλους ἔλαβε. καὶ τούτους μὲν πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐ κατελύσατο δέ, ὅτι ὁ [1] Ἰουγούρθας οὐκ ἠβουλήθη πρὸς αὐτόν, μὴ συλληφθῇ, ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ὁ Μάριος ὅ τε Γναῖος ἐνεπόδισαν.—U^G 19 (p. 385).

2 Ἦν [2] μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἄλλως καὶ στασιώδης καὶ ταραχώδης, καὶ παντὸς μὲν τοῦ συρφετώδους, ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ ἐπεφύκει, φίλος, παντὸς δὲ τοῦ γενναίου καθαιρέτης. καὶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν τι καὶ ὑποσχέσθαι καὶ ψεύσασθαι καὶ ἐπιορκῆσαι, ἐν ᾧ πλεονεκτήσειν ἤλπιζεν, ἑτοιμότατα ἐτόλμα, τό τε συκοφαντῆσαί τινα τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ τὸ ἐπαινέσαι αὖ τῶν κακίστων ἐν παιδιᾷ ἐτίθετο. καί μοι μηδεὶς θαυμάσῃ εἰ τοιοῦτός τις ὢν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἔλαθεν ἐν [3] οἷς ἐκακούργει· ἔκ τε γὰρ τῆς περιτεχνήσεως καὶ ἐκ τῆς τύχης, ᾗ παράπαν τὰ πρῶτα ἀγαθῇ ἐχρήσατο, καὶ ἀρετῆς δόξαν ἐκτήσατο.—V. 78 (p. 629).

[1] ὁ added by Leuncl.
[2] In the Ms. ἦν is preceded by ὅτι ὁ μάριος, evidently added by the excerptor; cf. Frg. 88, note 4. [3] ἐν St., ἐφ' Ms.

leniency towards the soldiers and seemed to have made success of more importance than the truth, he likewise secured a renown greater than his deeds deserved.

When Jugurtha sent to Metellus in regard to peace, the latter made many demands upon him, one by one, as if each were to be the last, and in this way got from him hostages, arms, the elephants, the captives, and the deserters. All of these last he killed; but he did not conclude peace, since Jugurtha, fearing to be arrested, refused to come to him and since Marius and Gnaeus[1] stood in the way. B.C. 108

For he [Marius] was in general seditious and turbulent, friendly to all the rabble, from which he had sprung, and ready to overthrow all the nobility. He ventured with perfect readiness any statement, promise, lie, or false oath wherever he hoped to profit by it. Blackmailing one of the best citizens or commending the veriest rascal he thought mere child's play. And let no one be surprised that such a man could conceal his villainies for so long a time; for, as a result of his exceeding cleverness and the good fortune which he uniformly enjoyed in the fullest measure, he actually acquired a reputation for virtue.

[1] Perhaps an error for Gauda.

3 Ὅτι τὸν Μέτελλον καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνο ῥᾷον διαβαλεῖν[1] ὁ Μάριος ἠδυνήθη, ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἔν τε τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις ἐξητάζετο καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἄριστα διεχείριζεν,[2] αὐτὸς δὲ[3] ἐξ ἀφανεστάτου καὶ ἀδηλοτάτου ἐς τὸ μέσον παριέναι ἤρχετο (οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἑτοίμως τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου καθῄρουν, τὸν δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ηὖξον), καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ἐλογοποιήθη τὸν Μέτελλον παριεμένῳ τότε πρὸς τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας τῷ Μαρίῳ εἰπεῖν ὅτι "ἀγαπᾶν ὀφείλεις ἂν μετὰ τοῦ υἱέος μου" (μειράκιον δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἦν) "ὑπατεύσῃς."—V. 79 (p. 630).

4 Ὅτι τῷ Μετέλλῳ ἤχθετο ὁ Γαύδας,[4] ὅτι μήτε τοὺς αὐτομόλους μήτε φρουρὰν στρατιωτῶν Ῥωμαίων αἰτήσας παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔλαβεν, ἢ καὶ ὅτι ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐκαθέζετο, ὅπερ ὡς πλήθει τοῖς τε βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς δυνάσταις παρὰ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐδίδοτο.—V. 80 (p. 630).

5 Ὅτι τῆς Κίρτας[5] καθ' ὁμολογίαν ἁλούσης ὁ Βόκχος ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τῷ Μαρίῳ, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τὴν τοῦ Ἰουγούρθου ἀρχὴν μισθὸν τῆς μεταστάσεως ᾔτει, ἔπειτα μὴ τυχὼν αὐτῆς ἁπλῶς ἠξίωσε συμβῆναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν πρέσβεις ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν, ὁ δὲ Ἰουγούρθας τούτων οὕτω[6]

[1] διαβαλεῖν Val., διαλαβεῖν Ms.
[2] διεχείριζεν Val., διαχειρίζειν Ms.
[3] δὲ Val., τε Ms.
[4] Γαύδας Val., μάριος Ms.
[5] Κίρτας Urs., σκίρτας Mss.
[6] οὕτω Bs., οὐ Mss.

Marius was the more easily able to calumniate Metellus for the reason that the latter belonged to the patricians and was conducting the war in excellent fashion, whereas he himself was just beginning to come forward from a very obscure and humble origin into public notice. The multitude was of course readily inclined to overthrow Metellus through envy, and to advance Marius for his promises; but they were particularly influenced by the report that Metellus had said to Marius, when the latter was asking for his discharge on account of the elections: "You ought to be satisfied if you get to be consul along with my son." Now this son was a mere lad.

Gauda was angry at Metellus because in spite of his requests he had received from him neither the deserters nor a garrison of Roman soldiers, or else because he could not sit near him—a privilege ordinarily accorded by the consuls to kings and potentates.

After Cirta had capitulated, Bocchus made overtures to Marius; and first he demanded the empire of Jugurtha as the price of his defection, but later, failing to obtain this, simply asked for a truce. So he sent envoys to Rome; but Jugurtha, while B.C. 106

γιγνομένων ἀπεχώρησεν ἐς τὰ ἐρημότατα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γῆς.—U[G] 20 (p. 385).

6 Ὅτι ὁ Μάριος πρέσβεις τοῦ Βόκχου κομισάμενος οὐκ ἔφη αὐτῷ συνθήσεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν ἔκδοτον παρ' αὐτοῦ λάβοι· ὃ καὶ γέγονεν.—U[G] 21 (p. 386).

this was taking place, retired to the most desolate portions of his own territory.

Marius received the envoys of Bocchus, but said he would make no compact with him unless he should receive Jugurtha as a prisoner at his hands; and this was actually brought about.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXVII

90 Ὅτι Τόλοσσαν[1] πρότερον μὲν ἔνσπονδον οὖσαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, στασιάσασαν δὲ πρὸς τὰς τῶν Κίμβρων ἐλπίδας ὡς καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς δεθῆναι, προκατέσχον νυκτὸς ἐξαπίνης ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐσαχθέντες, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ διήρπασαν, καὶ ἄλλα χωρὶς χρήματα πολλὰ ἔλαβον· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον ἄλλως τε παλαιόπλουτον ἦν, καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἅ ποτε οἱ Γαλάται οἱ μετὰ Βρέννου στρατεύσαντες ἐκ τῶν Δελφῶν ἐσύλησαν εἶχεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀξιόλογόν τι ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν τοῖς οἴκοι Ῥωμαίοις περιεγένετο, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὰ πλείω ἐσφετερίσαντο. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ συχνοὶ εὐθύνθησαν.—V. 81 (p. 630).

91 Ὅτι ὁ Σερουίλιος ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν συνάρχοντα φθόνου (τὰ μὲν γὰρ[2] ἄλλα ἐξ ἴσου οἱ ἐπετέτραπτο, τῷ δὲ δὴ ἀξιώματι οἷα ὑπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ ἠλαττοῦτο) πολλῶν καὶ κακῶν αἴτιος τῷ στρατεύματι ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Μάλλιος[3] μετὰ θάνατον Σκαύρου[4] τὸν Σερουίλιον μετεπέμψατο· ὁ

[1] Τόλοσσαν Val., τόλοσσα Ms.
[2] γὰρ added by Dind. [3] γὰρ ὁ Μάλλιος supplied by Rk.
[4] Σκαύρου Val., σκάρου Ms.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXVII

TOLOSA, which had formerly been in alliance with the Romans, but had revolted, as a result of the hopes placed in the Cimbri, even to the point of keeping the garrison in chains, was suddenly occupied at night by the Romans, after they had been admitted by their friends. They plundered the temples and obtained much money besides; for the place was wealthy from of old, containing among other things the offerings of which the Gauls under the leadership of Brennus had once despoiled Delphi. No treasure of importance, however, reached the Romans at home, but the soldiers themselves appropriated the most of it; and for this a number were called to account. B.C. 106

Servilius became the cause of many evils to the army by reason of his jealousy of his colleague; for, though he had in general equal authority, his rank was naturally diminished by the fact that the other was consul. After the death of Scaurus, Mallius had sent for Servilius; but the latter replied that each of B.C. 105

δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἑκάτερον δεῖν φυλάτ-
2 τειν. εἶτα ἐλπίσας τὸν Μάλλιον καθ' ἑαυτόν τι κατορθώσειν, ἐφθόνησεν αὐτῷ, μὴ μόνος εὐδοκιμήσῃ, καὶ ἦλθε μὲν πρὸς αὐτόν, οὔτε δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίῳ ηὐλίσατο οὔτε τι βούλευμα κοινὸν ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ πρότερος αὐτοῦ τοῖς Κίμβροις συμμίξων, τήν τε δόξαν τοῦ πολέμου
3 πᾶσαν ἀποισόμενος, ἐν μέσῳ ἱδρύθη. καὶ τὸ μὲν[1] πρῶτον φοβεροὶ καὶ ὣς τοῖς πολεμίοις, μέχρι οὗ ἡ διαφορὰ αὐτῶν ἐλάνθανεν, ἐγίγνοντο, ὡς καὶ ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν σπονδῶν αὐτοὺς προαγαγεῖν· ὡς δὲ πρὸς Μάλλιον ὑπατεύοντα διεκηρυκεύσαντο, ὁ Σερουίλιος ἠγανάκτησεν ὅτι μὴ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, καὶ οὔτε τι συμβατικὸν ἀπεκρίνατο, ὀλίγου τε καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς διέφθειρεν.—V. 82 (p. 630).

4 Ὅτι οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν Σερουίλιον ἠνάγκασαν πρὸς Μάλλιον ἐλθεῖν καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῶν παρόντων. τοσούτου δὲ ὁμοφρονῆσαι ἐδέησαν ὥστε καὶ ἐχθίους ἢ πρόσθεν ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς συνουσίας ἐγένοντο· ἔς τε γὰρ φιλονεικίαν καὶ λοιδορίας προαχθέντες[2] αἰσχρῶς διελύθησαν.—V. 83 (p. 633).

92 Ὅτι Γναῖος Δομίτιος δίκην τῷ Σκαύρῳ λαχών, ἔπειτα ἐπειδὴ τῶν οἰκετῶν τις προσελθὼν αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ κατὰ τοῦ δεσπότου μηνύσειν

[1] μὲν inserted by Val.
[2] προαχθέντες St., προσαχθέντες Ms.

them ought to guard his own province. Then, suspecting that Mallius might gain some success by himself, he grew jealous of him, fearing that he might secure the glory alone, and went to him; yet he neither encamped in the same place nor entered into any common plan, but took up a position between Mallius and the Cimbri, with the evident intention of being the first to join battle and so of winning all the glory of the war. Even thus they inspired their enemies with dread at the outset, as long as their quarrel was concealed, to such an extent that they were brought to desire peace; but when the Cimbri made overtures to Mallius, as consul, Servilius became indignant that they had not directed their embassy to him, gave them no conciliatory reply, and actually came near slaying the envoys.

The soldiers forced Servilius to go to Mallius and consult with him about the situation. But far from reaching an accord, they became as a result of the meeting even more hostile than before; for they fell into strife and abuse, and parted in a disgraceful fashion.

After Gnaeus Domitius had brought suit against B.C. 104
Scaurus, one of the latter's slaves approached him and offered to give much damaging evidence against his

ὑπέσχετο, οὐκ ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν, καὶ προσέτι συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν παρέδωκε τῷ Σκαύρῳ.—V. 84 (p. 633).

93 Ὅτι Πούπλιος Λικίννιος Νέρουας στρατηγῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ τινὰ περὶ τοὺς δούλους γίγνοιτο, ἢ καὶ λημμάτων ἀφορμὰς ζητῶν (καὶ γὰρ ἦν οὐκ ἄδωρος), περιήγγειλεν ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πάντας τοὺς αἰτιωμένους τι τοὺς δεσπότας σφῶν, ὡς καὶ
2 βοηθήσων αὐτοῖς. ἐξ οὖν τούτου ἐκείνων[1] τε πολλοὶ συνιστάμενοι οἱ μὲν ἀδικεῖσθαί τι ἔλεγον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι τοῖς δεσπόταις ἐνεκάλουν, νομίζοντες καιρὸν[2] εἰληφέναι τοῦ πάντα ὅσα ἐβούλοντο πρὸς[3] αὐτοὺς ἀναιμωτὶ διαπράξασθαι· καὶ οἱ ἐλεύθεροι συμφρονήσαντες ἀνθίσταντό
3 σφισι καὶ οὐδαμῇ ὑφίεντο. φοβηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Λικίννιος τὴν σύστασιν αὐτῶν ἑκατέρων, μὴ καὶ μέγα τι δεινὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαττωθέντων γένηται, οὐδένα τῶν δούλων προσεδέξατο, ἀλλ' ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ὡς μηδὲν κακὸν πεισομένους ἢ μηδέν γε ἔτι ταράξαι τῷ διασκεδασθῆναι δυνησομένους. οἱ δὲ δείσαντες τοὺς δεσπότας, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπικαλέσαι τι αὐτοῖς ἐτόλμησαν, συνεστράφησαν καὶ κοινολογησάμενοι πρὸς λῃστείας ἐτράποντο.—V. 85 (p. 633).

94 Ὅτι τῶν βαρβάρων ἡττημένων, καὶ συχνῶν

[1] ἐκείνων Rk., καὶ ἐκείνων Ms. [2] καιρὸν supplied by Val.
[3] πρὸς supplied by Bk.

master; but Domitius did not investigate the matter, and moreover arrested the fellow and handed him over to Scaurus.

Publius Licinius Nerva, who was praetor in the island, on learning that the slaves were not being justly treated in some respects, or else because he sought an occasion for profit,—for he was not inaccessible to bribes,—sent round a notice that all who had any charges to bring against their masters should come to him and he would assist them. Accordingly, many of them banded together, and some declared they were being wronged and others made known other grievances against their masters, thinking they had secured an opportunity for accomplishing all that they wished against them without bloodshed. The freemen, after consultation, resisted them and would not make any concessions. Therefore Licinius, inspired with fear by the united front of both sides and dreading that some great mischief might be done by the defeated party, would not receive any of the slaves, but sent them away, thinking that they would suffer no harm or that at any rate they would be scattered and so could cause no further disturbance. But the slaves, fearing their masters because they had dared to raise their voices at all against them, organized a band and by common consent turned to robbery.

After the defeat of the barbarians, though many B.C. 102

ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντων, ὀλίγοι διεσώθησαν. ἐφ' ᾧπερ ὁ Μάριος τούτους παραμυθούμενός τε ἅμα καὶ ἀμειβόμενος, πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς τὴν λείαν ἐπευωνίσας ἀπέδοτο, ὅπως μηδὲν δόξῃ προῖκά τινι κεχαρίσθαι. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ Μάριος, καίπερ ἐν τῷ πλήθει μόνῳ πρότερον, ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονὼς ἦν καὶ ὅτι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ηὔξητο, εὖ φερόμενος, τότε καὶ τοὺς εὐπατρίδας ὑφ' ὧν ἐμισεῖτο ἐξενίκησεν, ὥστε πρὸς πάντων ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπαινεῖσθαι. τήν τε ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπιὸν ἔτος, ὅπως καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκατεργάσηται, παρ' ἑκόντων καὶ ὁμογνωμονούντων αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν.—V. 86 (p. 633).

2 Ὅτι ὡς ἅπαξ ἐπέσχον, πολὺ τοῦ θυμοῦ οἱ Κίμβροι παρελύθησαν, κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἀμβλύτεροι καὶ ἀσθενέστεροι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐγένοντο. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ἔν τε οἰκίαις ἐκ τῆς πρόσθεν ὑπαιθρίου διαίτης κατέλυον, καὶ λουτροῖς θερμοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς πρόσθεν ψυχρολουσίας ἐχρῶντο, καρυκείας τε καὶ ἡδυσμάτων ἐπιχωρίων διεπίμπλαντο, κρέα πρότερον ὠμὰ σιτούμενοι, καὶ τῷ οἴνῳ τῇ τε μέθῃ κατακορεῖς παρὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐγίγνοντο. ταῦτα γὰρ τό τε θυμοειδὲς αὐτῶν πᾶν ἐξέκοψε καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐθήλυνεν, ὥστε μήτε τοὺς πόνους ἔτι μήτε τὰς ταλαιπωρίας, μὴ καῦμα, μὴ ψῦχος, μὴ ἀγρυπνίαν, φέρειν.—V. 87 (p. 633).

93, 4 Ὅτι οἱ Μεσσήνιοι νομίσαντες μηδὲν δεινὸν πείσεσθαι, πάντα τὰ πλείστου ἄξια καὶ τιμιώτατα ἐκεῖσε ὑπεξέθεντο. μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο Ἀθη-

had fallen in battle, some few were saved. Whereupon Marius, by way of encouraging and rewarding these [the soldiers], sold all the plunder to them at a nominal price, to prevent its being thought that he had bestowed favours outright upon any one. By this act Marius, who previously had enjoyed the favour of the populace alone, because sprung from that class and raised to power by it, now won over even the nobles by whom he had been hated, so that he was praised by all alike. He received from a willing and harmonious people a reëlection for the following year, to enable him to complete his conquests.

The Cimbri, when once they had halted, lost much of their spirit and consequently became enfeebled and sluggish in both mind and body. The reason was that in place of their former outdoor life they lodged in houses, and instead of their former cold plunges they used warm baths; whereas they had been wont to eat raw meat, they now gorged themselves with richly spiced dishes and relishes of the country, and they steeped themselves, contrary to their custom, in wine and strong drink. These practices extinguished all their fiery spirit and enervated their bodies, so that they could no longer bear toils or hardships, whether heat or cold or loss of sleep.

The people of Messana, not expecting to meet with any harm, had deposited in that place for safe-keeping all their most valuable and precious possessions. Athenio, a Cilician who held the chief

νίων, ὅσπερ[1] που τὸ μέγιστον κράτος τῶν ληστευόντων Κίλιξ ὢν εἶχεν, ἐπέθετο αὐτοῖς δημοτελῆ τινα ἑορτὴν ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἄγουσι, καὶ ἐκείνων τε πολλοὺς σκεδασθέντας ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀλίγου κατὰ κράτος εἷλεν. χωρίον δέ τι Μάκελλαν εὐερκὲς τειχισάμενος ἰσχυρῶς τὴν γῆν ἐκακούργει.—V. 88 (p. 634).

[1] ὅσπερ Val., ὅπερ Ms.

command of the robbers, on learning this, attacked them while they were celebrating a public festival in the suburbs, killed many of them as they were scattered about, and almost took the city by storm. After building a wall to fortify Macella, a strong position, he proceeded to do great injury to the country.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXVIII

95 Ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς ὁ τοῦ Μετέλλου οὕτω καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ πάντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸν πατέρα κατελθεῖν ἱκέτευεν ὥστε καὶ Πίος, τοῦτ' ἔστιν Εὐσεβής, ἐπονομασθῆναι.—V. 92 (p. 638).

2 Ὅτι ὁ Φούριος ἔχθραν τῷ Μετέλλῳ οὕτως ἔσχεν ὅτι τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ τιμητεύων ἀφείλετο.—V. 93 (p. 638).

3 Ὅτι Πούπλιον Φούριον γραφέντα ἐφ' οἷς δημαρχήσας ἐπεποιήκει ἀπέκτειναν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἀξιώτατον μέν που ἀπολέσθαι ὄντα (καὶ γὰρ ταραχώδης ἦν, καὶ τῷ Σατουρνίνῳ τῷ τε Γλαυκίᾳ πρῶτον[1] συστὰς μετεβάλετο, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας αὐτῶν αὐτομολήσας σφίσι συνεπέθετο), οὐ μέντοι καὶ προσήκοντα τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ φθαρῆναι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν δίκῃ δή τινι γεγονέναι ἔδοξεν . . .—V. 89 (p. 637).

97 Ὅτι τοῦ Ῥουτιλίου ἀγαθοῦ ὄντος ἀνδρὸς

[1] πρῶτον St., πρώτοις Ms.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXVIII

THE son of Metellus besought everybody to such an extent both in private and in public to let his father return from exile that he received the cognomen Pius, i. e. Dutiful. B.C. 99

Furius cherished such enmity against Metellus because the latter when censor had taken his horse away.

Publius Furius, under indictment for the acts he had performed while tribune, was slain by the Romans in the very assembly. He richly deserved to die, to be sure, for he was a seditious person, who after first joining Saturninus and Glaucia had veered about, deserted to the opposing faction, and joined them in attacking his former associates; yet it was not proper for him to perish in just this way. This deed, then, seemed to have a certain justification. . . . B.C. 98

Rutilius, an upright man, they most unjustly con- B.C. 92

ἀδικώτατα κατεψηφίσαντο· ἐσήχθη γὰρ ἐς δικαστήριον ἐκ κατασκευασμοῦ τῶν ἱππέων ὡς δωροδοκῇ . . .[1] Κυίντῳ Μουκίῳ, καὶ ἐζημιώθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν χρήμασι. ταῦτα ἐποίησαν θυμῷ φέροντες ὅτι πολλὰ περὶ τὰς τελωνίας πλημμελοῦντας ἐπέσχεν.[2]—V. 90 (p. 637).

2 Ὅτι ὁ Ῥουτίλιος ἀπελογήσατο μὲν γενναιότατα, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ εἶπεν ὧν ἂν[3] ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς συκοφαντούμενος καὶ πολὺ πλεῖον τὰ τῶν κοινῶν ἢ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ὀδυρόμενος φθέγξαιτο, ἑάλω δέ, καὶ τῆς γε οὐσίας εὐθὺς ἐξέστη. ἐξ οὗπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐφωράθη μηδέν οἱ προσήκουσαν καταδίκην ὀφλήσας· πολλῷ τε γὰρ σμικρότερα κεκτημένος εὑρέθη ἢ οἱ κατήγοροι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας αὐτὸν ἐσφετερίσθαι ἐπεκάλουν, καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐς δικαίας καὶ νομίμους ἀρχὰς
3 τῆς κτήσεως ἀνήγαγεν. οὕτω μὲν ἐπηρεάσθη, καί τινα ὁ Μάριος αἰτίαν τῆς ἁλώσεως αὐτοῦ ἔσχεν· ἀρίστῳ γὰρ καὶ εὐδοκιμωτάτῳ αὐτῷ ὄντι ἐβαρύνετο. διόπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τῶν τε πραττομένων ἐν τῇ πόλει καταγνούς, καὶ ἀπαξιώσας τοιούτῳ ἔτι ἀνθρώπῳ συζῆσαι, ἐξεχώρησε μηδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος, καὶ ἐς αὐτήν γε τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλθὼν τέως μὲν ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ διῆγεν,

[1] No indication of lacuna in Ms. Bs. suggests δωροδοκήσας ὑποστρατηγῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Κυίντῳ, adopted in the translation.
[2] ἐπέσχεν Val. (in translation), ἐπέσχον Ms.
[3] ἂν supplied by Bk.

demned; for he was brought into court by a preconcerted plan of the knights on the charge of having received bribes [while serving in Asia as lieutenant under] Quintus Mucius, and was fined by them. They did this in their anger because he had ended many of their irregularities in connection with the collecting of taxes.

Rutilius made a very noble defence, saying everything which an upright man would naturally say who was being blackmailed and who grieved far more for the condition of the state than for his own fortunes; he was convicted, however, and immediately stripped of his property. This process more than anything else revealed the fact that he had in no wise deserved the sentence passed upon him. For he was found to possess much less than his accusers had charged him with having appropriated from Asia, and he could trace all that he had back to just and lawful sources of acquisition. Such was his unworthy treatment, and Marius was not without a hand in his conviction; for a man so excellent and of such good repute had been an annoyance to him. Therefore Rutilius, indignant at the conduct of affairs in the city, and disdaining to live longer in the company of such a creature, withdrew, though under no compulsion, and actually went back to Asia. There for a time he dwelt in Mytilene; then, after that place had

4 ἔπειτα ἐκείνης ἐν τῷ Μιθριδατικῷ πολέμῳ κακωθείσης ἐς Σμύρναν μετῳκίσθη, κἀνταῦθα κατεβίω, οὐδὲ ἠθέλησεν ἐπανελθεῖν οἴκαδε. καὶ οὐδέν γε παρὰ τοῦτο ἧττον οὔτε ἐν εὐκλείᾳ οὔτε ἐν περιουσίᾳ ἐγένετο· πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Μούκιος, πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ δῆμοι καὶ βασιλῆς ὅσοι ποτὲ ἐπεπείραντο αὐτοῦ ἐχαρίσαντο, ὥστε πολὺ πλείω αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας οὐσίας ἔχειν. —V. 91 (p. 637).

96 Ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς στασίαρχοι, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον κράτος τῶν μὲν Μᾶρκος, τῶν δὲ Κόιντος εἶχον, δυναστείας τε ἐπιθυμηταὶ καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἄπληστοι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ
2 φιλόνεικον προπετέστατοι ὄντες. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἐκέκτηντο, προέφερον δὲ Δροῦσος μὲν τῷ γένει καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ, τῇ τε ἐς τοὺς ἀεὶ δεομένους αὐτοῦ ἀφειδῶς ἀναλώσει, ὁ δὲ τῷ τε θράσει πολλῷ καὶ τῇ τόλμῃ, ταῖς τε προεπιβουλαῖς καὶ ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα κακοηθείαις. ὅθεν οὐκ ἀπεικότως τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν διαφόρων ἀντίρροποι τρόπον τινὰ ἀλλήλοις ὄντες τὴν στάσιν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἤγειραν, ὥστε αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποθανόντων αὐτῶν μεῖναι.—V. 94 (p. 638).

3 Ὅτι ὁ Δροῦσος καὶ ὁ Καιπίων ἰδίαν ἀλλήλοις ἔχθραν ἐκ φιλίας πολλῆς καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγῇς

suffered injury in the Mithridatic war, he removed to Smyrna and there lived to the end of his life without any desire to return home. And yet in all this he suffered not a whit either in reputation or wealth. For he received many gifts from Mucius and a vast number from all the peoples and kings as well who had ever had dealings with him, until he possessed far more than his original wealth.

There were other factional leaders, but the greatest influence was possessed by Marcus[1] in the one group, and by Quintus[2] in the other; these men were eager for power, insatiate in their ambition, and consequently very prone to strife. These qualities they possessed in common; but Drusus had the advantage of birth, and also of wealth, which he lavishly expended upon those who at any time made demands upon him, while the other greatly surpassed him in audacity and daring, and by the timeliness of his plots, as well as his malignity in carrying them out. It was not strange, therefore, since they balanced each other in a way, partly by their likenesses and partly by their differences, that they brought the discord to such a high pitch that it continued even after the death of both. B.C. 91

Drusus and Caepio, formerly great friends and united by mutual ties of marriage, became personal

[1] M. Livius Drusus. [2] Q. Servilius Caepio.

ποιησάμενοι καὶ ἐς τὰ πολιτικὰ αὐτὴν προήγαγον. —V. 95 (p. 638).

4 *Δίων κη' βιβλίῳ* "*καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις. ἐπιβουλεύοντα.*"—Bekk. Anecd. 136, 30.

5 *κη' βιβλίῳ Δίων* "*οὐχ ὅπως οὐκ ἔπεισέ τινας καίπερ τινὰ ἀληθῆ λέγων.*"—*Ib.* 166, 8.

enemies of each other and carried their feud even into politics.

Dio, Book XXVIII. "And plotting against the consuls." [1]

Dio, Book XXVIII. "Not only did he fail to convince any, in spite of the fact that he spoke the truth in part."

[1] Said of M. Livius Drusus, on trial before the senate.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXIX

98 Ὅτι ὁ Λοῦπος τοὺς εὐπατρίδας τοὺς συστρατευομένους οἵ ὡς καὶ τὰ βουλεύματα αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐξαγγέλλοντας ὑποπτεύσας, ἐπέστειλε περὶ αὐτῶν τῇ βουλῇ πρίν τι α . . .[1] κἀκ τούτου οὐδ᾽ ἄλλως σφᾶς . . .[2] ὑπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἔχοντας ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον συνέβαλεν. κἂν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐταράχθησαν, εἰ μή τινες τῶν Μαρσῶν ἐφωράθησαν ἀναμιγνύμενοί τε τοῖς προνομεύουσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ἐς τὸ τάφρευμα ὡς καὶ σύμμαχοί σφων συνεσιόντες, καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦντες τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ λεγόμενα καὶ δρώμενα, καὶ τοῖς σφετέροις ἐξαγγέλλοντες. καὶ οὕτως ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις ἐπαύσαντο.—V. 96 (p. 641).

2 Ὅτι ὁ Μάριος ὑποπτεύσας τὸν Λοῦπον καίπερ συγγενῆ ὄντα, φθόνῳ τε καὶ ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ ὕπατον τὸ ἕβδομον, ὡς καὶ μόνον ἂν τὰ παρόντα κατορθώσαντα, ἀποδειχθῆναι, τρίβειν ἐκέλευεν·

[1] Lacuna recognized by Val., who supplied ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι ("know accurately").

[2] Lacuna recognized by Rk., who suggested εὐνοϊκῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ("well disposed toward each other"); Bs. improves to εὐνοϊκῶς ἀλλήλοις.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXIX

Lupus, suspecting that the patricians making the campaign with him were revealing his plans to the enemy, sent word about them to the senate before [he had any definite information], and in consequence, inasmuch as they were not [well disposed toward each other] to begin with, because of their strife, he set them still more at variance. And the disturbance would have been even more serious, had not some of the Marsians been detected mingling with the foraging parties of the Romans and entering the ramparts under the guise of allies, where they took note of what was said and done in the camp and reported it to their own men. Accordingly they ceased to be angry with the patricians. B.C. 90

Marius suspected Lupus,[1] although a relative, and through jealousy and the hope of being appointed consul for even the seventh time, as the only man who could bring success out of the existing situation, bade him delay; their men, he said, would have

[1] There is a deep-seated error here, due no doubt to the excerptor's carelessness. According to Orosius (5, 18, 11), it was Lupus, the consul, who was suspicious of the motives of his lieutenant Marius in advising him to postpone a conflict.

σφᾶς μὲν γὰρ καὶ . . .[1] τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἕξειν ἔλεγεν, ἐκείνους δὲ οὐ δυνήσεσθαι ἐπὶ πλεῖον, ἅτε τοῦ πολέμου ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν ὄντος, ἀνταρκέσαι.—V. 97 (p. 641).

3 Ὅτι οἱ Πικένται τοὺς μὴ συναποστάντας σφίσι ἐχειρώσαντο, καὶ τούτοις ἐν ἐπόψει τῶν φίλων ἐνύβριζον, καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὰς κόμας σὺν τῷ δέρματι ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν ἀπέσπασαν.—V. 98 (p. 641).

[1] Lacuna recognized by Rk.; v. Herw. would supply ὧς ("even thus").

provisions [even though they delayed], whereas the other side would not be able to hold out for any considerable time, since the war was in their country.

The Picentes overcame those who had not joined their rebellion and abused them in the sight of their friends, while from the heads of their wives they tore out the hair along with the skin.

99 Ὅτι ὁ Μιθριδάτης πρέσβεων ἡκόντων[1] Ῥωμαίων οὐδὲν ἐκίνησεν, ἀλλ' ἀνταιτιασάμενός τινα, καὶ προσαποδείξας[2] τοῖς πρέσβεσι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων ὧν τῷ τε κοινῷ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τισὶν ἀναλώκει, ἡσυχίαν ἔσχεν. ὁ δὲ Νικομήδης τῇ συμμαχίᾳ αὐτῶν ἐπαρθεὶς καὶ χρημάτων δεηθεὶς ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ.[3]—U[G] 22 (p. 386).

1[a] Δίωνος λα' βιβλίῳ "καὶ τῷ Μιθραδάτῃ αὐτὸς πρός τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς προστετάχθαι."—Bekk. Anecd. 166, 18.

2 Ὅτι ὁ Μιθριδάτης πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλεν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἀξιῶν, εἰ μὲν φίλον τὸν Νικομήδην νομίζουσι, πεῖσαι αὐτὸν ἢ καὶ[4] καταναγκάσαι τὰ δίκαιά οἱ ποιῆσαι, εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτῷ γε ἐπιτρέψαι τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀμύνασθαι. οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὅτι τι ἔπραξαν ὧν ἤθελεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπηπείλησαν αὐτῷ, ἂν μὴ τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἀποδῷ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Νικομήδην εἰρήνην ἄγῃ. τούς τε πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ αὐθημερὸν ἀπέπεμψαν, καὶ

[1] ἡκόντων Bk., ὄντων Mss. [2] προσαποδείξας Rk., προαποδείξας Mss. [3] αὐτοῦ Leuncl., αὐτῶν Mss. [4] ἢ καὶ Bs., ἢ Mss.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOKS XXX–XXXV

MITHRIDATES, when the Roman envoys arrived, did not create any disturbance, but after bringing some counter-charges and also exhibiting to the envoys the amount of the wealth which he had lavished on the state and on private individuals, he remained quiet. Nicomedes, however, elated by the Romans' alliance and being in need of money, invaded his territory. B.C. 89

Dio, Book XXXI. "And he had been appointed against Mithridates by both the people and the senate." [1]

Mithridates dispatched envoys to Rome requesting the people, if they deemed Nicomedes a friend, to persuade or else compel him to act justly toward him, or if not, to allow him [Mithridates] to take measures against his foe. But they, so far from doing anything he wished, even threatened him with punishment if he should not give back Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes and remain at peace with Nicomedes. They sent away his envoys the same day and further-

[1] According to Th. Reinach this has reference to Flaccus or Sulla.

προσαπηγόρευσαν αὐτῷ μηκέτι μηδένα ἄλλον, ἂν μὴ πειθαρχῇ σφισι, πέμψαι.—U^G 23 (p. 386).

2^a Δίωνος λα' βιβλίῳ "τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὡς καὶ ἐπικουρίας τινὸς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δεομένων ἐπιμνησθείς."—Bekk. Anecd. 137, 20.

100 Ὅτι Κάτων ἀστικὸν καὶ ἀφηλικέστερον τὸ[1] πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔχων ἔς τὰ ἄλλα ἧττον ἔρρωτο, καί ποτε ἐπιτιμῆσαί σφισιν, ὅτι μήτε πονεῖν μήτε τὰ παραγγελλόμενα προθύμως ποιεῖν[2] ἤθελον, ἐπιτολμήσας ὀλίγου κατεχώσθη βληθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν. καὶ ἐτεθνήκει γ' ἂν εἰ λίθων εὐπορήκεσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ συνειλέχατο ἐγεωργεῖτο[3] καὶ δίυγρον κατὰ τύχην ἦν, οὐδὲν ὑπὸ βώλων ἔπαθεν. συνελήφθη δὲ ὁ τῆς στάσεως ἄρξας Γάιος Τίτιος, ἀνὴρ ἀγοραῖος καὶ ἐκ δικαστηρίων τὸν βίον ποιούμενος, τῇ τε παρρησίᾳ μετὰ ἀναισχυντίας κατακορεῖ χρώμενος, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐς τοὺς δημάρχους ἐπέμφθη, οὐκ ἐκολάσθη δέ.—V. 99 (p. 641).

101 Ὅτι πάντες τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐφόνευον κελεύσαντος Μιθριδάτου οἱ Ἀσιανοί, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον Τραλλιανοὶ οὐδένα ἀπέκτειναν, Θεόφιλον δέ τινα Παφλαγόνα ἐμισθώσαντο, ὥσπερ που ἧττόν σφων ἀπόλλυσθαι μελλόντων, ἢ καὶ διαφέρον αὐτοῖς ὑφ' ὅτου σφαγήσοιντο.—V. 100 (p. 642).

2 Ὅτι οἱ Θρᾷκες ἀναπεισθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιθρι-

[1] τὸ Val., τό τε Ms.
[2] ποιεῖν supplied by Rk.
[3] ἐγεωργεῖτο Naber, ἐγεώργητο Ms.

more ordered him never to send anyone else, unless he should render them obedience.

Dio, Book XXXI. "But recalling the others as in need of some assistance from him."[1]

Cato, the greater part of whose army was from the city and rather too old for service, had little authority at best; and once, when he ventured to rebuke them because they were unwilling to work hard or obey orders readily, he came near being buried under the shower of missiles which they hurled at him. And he would certainly have been killed, if they had had plenty of stones; but since the site where they were assembled was under cultivation and happened to be very wet, he received no hurt from the clods of earth. The man who began the mutiny, Gaius Titius,[2] was arrested; he had been a lounger about the Forum, making his living in the courts, and was excessively and shamelessly outspoken. He was now sent to the city to the tribunes, but escaped punishment. B.C. 88

All the Asiatics, at the bidding of Mithridates, massacred the Romans; only the people of Tralles did not personally kill anyone, but hired [for the purpose] a certain Theophilus, a Paphlagonian,—just as if they themselves were more likely thus to escape destruction, or as if it made any difference to the victims by whom they were to be slaughtered.

The Thracians, at the instigation of Mithridates,

[1] This refers to Mithridates and the people of Asia, according to von Gutschmid.

[2] Properly Gaius Titinius (Sisenna).

δάτου τήν τε Ἤπειρον καὶ τἆλλα τὰ μέχρι τῆς Δωδώνης κατέδραμον, ὥστε καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερὸν συλῆσαι.—V. 101 (p. 642).

102 Ὅτι ὁ Κίννας, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέλαβεν, οὐδὲν οὕτω τῶν πάντων ἐσπούδασεν ὡς καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκβαλεῖν, πρόφασιν μὲν τὸν Μιθριδάτην[1] ποιησάμενος, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπιθυμήσας αὐτὸν ἀπαρτῆσαί οἱ, ὅπως μὴ ἐγγύθεν ἐφεδρεύων ἐμποδὼν πρὸς ἃ ἔπραττε γένηται. καίτοι τῇ[2] τοῦ Σύλλου σπουδῇ ἀπεδέδεικτο, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ
2 πράξειν ὑπέσχητο.[3] ὁ γὰρ Σύλλας τήν τε ἀνάγκην τοῦ πολέμου ὁρῶν καὶ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ γλιχόμενος, τά τε ἄλλα τὰ οἴκοι πρὸς τὸ ἐπιτηδειότατον ἑαυτῷ πρὶν ἐξορμηθῆναι κατεστήσατο, καὶ τὸν Κίνναν Γναῖόν[4] τέ τινα Ὀκτάουιον διαδόχους ἀπέφηνεν, ἐλπίσας μάλιστα ἂν οὕτω καὶ
3 ἀπὼν ἰσχῦσαι. τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπί τε ἐπιεικείᾳ ἐπαινούμενον ἠπίστατο καὶ οὐδὲν παρακινήσειν ἐνόμιζεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ εὖ μὲν ᾔδει κακὸν ἄνδρα ὄντα, οὐκ ἠθέλησε δὲ ἐκπολεμῶσαι δυνάμενόν τέ τι καὶ αὐτὸν ἤδη, καὶ ἑτοίμως, ὥς γε[5] καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ὤμνυεν, ἔχοντα πᾶν οἱ[6] ὁτιοῦν ὑπουργῆσαι.
4 αὐτός τε οὖν, καίτοι δεινότατος ὢν τάς τε γνώμας τῶν ἀνθρώπων συνιδεῖν καὶ τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγ-

[1] Μιθριδάτην Val., μιθραδάτην Ms. [2] τῇ inserted by Rk.
[3] ὑπέσχητο Bk., ὑπέσχετο Ms. [4] Γναῖόν Val., γενναῖον Ms.
[5] ὥς γε Rk., ὥστε Ms. [6] οἱ inserted by Kuiper.

overran Epirus and the rest of the country as far as Dodona, going even to the point of plundering the temple of Zeus.

Cinna, as soon as he took possession of the office, was anxious about no one thing so much as driving Sulla out of Italy. He made Mithridates his excuse, but in reality wanted Sulla to get out of his way so that he might not, by keeping watch close at hand, prove a hindrance to the objects he himself was trying to carry out. And yet he owed his election to the other's support and had promised to do everything according to his pleasure. For Sulla, who saw the necessity of the war and was eager for its glory, had before starting arranged everything at home for his own best interests. Among other things he appointed Cinna and one Gnaeus Octavius to be his successors, hoping in this way to retain the most power even while absent. For he understood that Octavius was commended for his amiability, and he thought he would cause no trouble; the other he well knew to be a base fellow, but he did not wish to make an enemy of him, because the man already had some influence of his own and was prepared, as he had repeatedly said and declared on oath, to assist him in every way whatsoever. Thus Sulla himself, adept as he was at seeing through the minds of men and reasoning out

B.C. 87

μάτων συλλογίσασθαι, πάνυ ἐν τούτῳ διεσφάλη, καὶ πόλεμον τῇ πόλει μέγαν κατέλιπεν.—V. 102 (p. 642).

5 *Ὅτι Ὀκτάουιος φύσει βραδὺς ἦν πρὸς τὰ πολιτικά.*—V. 103 (p. 642).

6 *Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου ἐνεστηκότος τὸν Μέτελλον μετεπέμψαντο, κελεύσαντες βοηθεῖν.*—U[G] 24 (p. 386).

7 *Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι στασιάσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὸν Μέτελλον μετεπέμψαντο, κελεύσαντες αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς Σαυνίτας, ὅπως ποτ᾽ ἂν δύνηται, συμβῆναι· οὗτοι γὰρ ἔτι τότε μόνοι τὴν Καμπανίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπέκεινα αὐτῆς ἐκακούργουν. ὁ δὲ τούτοις οὐκ ἐσπείσατο· τήν τε γὰρ πολιτείαν ἠξίουν οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ηὐτομοληκόσι πρὸς σφᾶς δοθῆναι, καὶ οὔτε τι τῆς λείας ἣν εἶχον ἀποδοῦναι[1] ἤθελον, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τούς τε αὐτομόλους σφῶν πάντας ἀπῄτουν, ὥστε μηδὲ τοὺς βουλευτὰς τὴν εἰρήνην ἔτι τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑλέσθαι.*—U[R] 9 (p. 385).

8 *Ὅτι ἐπειδὴ ὁ Κίννας τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῆς καθόδου τῶν φυγάδων ἀνενεώσατο, ὁ Μάριος οἵ τε ἄλλοι οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκπεσόντες ἐσεπήδησαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατοῦ κατὰ πάσας ἅμα τὰς πύλας, καὶ ἐκείνας τε ἔκλεισαν ὥστε μηδένα διαδρᾶναι, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντάς σφισι ἐξειργάσαντο, μηδένα αὐτῶν ἀπο-*

[1] ἀποδοῦναι Reim., ἀποδοθῆναι Mss.

the nature of things, made a grave mistake in the present instance and bequeathed a great war to the state.

Octavius was naturally slow in managing public business.

The Romans, when civil war broke out, sent for Metellus, urging him to help them.

The Romans, having become at odds with one another, sent for Metellus, bidding him come to terms with the Samnites as best he might; for at this time they alone were still ravaging Campania and the district beyond it. Nevertheless, he did not conclude a truce with them, since they demanded that citizenship be given not alone to themselves but also to those who had deserted to their side, refused to give up any of the booty which they had, and demanded back all the captives and deserters from their own ranks. As a result even the senators no longer chose to make peace with them on these terms.

When Cinna again brought forward the law regarding the return of the exiles, Marius and those who had been expelled with him rushed into the city with the rest of the army by all the gates at once; these they shut, so that no one could make his escape, and then slew every man they met, making no distinctions,

κρίνοντες, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ὡς πολε-
9 μίοις χρώμενοι. μάλιστα δὲ τούς τι ἔχοντας ἐπιθυμίᾳ χρημάτων ἔφθειρον, καὶ τούς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκάς σφων ὕβριζον, ὥσπερ τινὰ ἀλλοτρίαν πόλιν ἠνδραποδισμένοι. καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν ἐλλογιμωτάτων ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνετίθεσαν. καὶ ἦν τὸ[1] θέαμα οὐδέν τι τοῦ ὀλέθρου αὐτῶν πραότερον· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς ὁρῶσι προσπαρίστη νομίζειν ὅτι, ὅσα πολεμίων ἀκροστολίοις οἱ προπάτορές σφων ἐκεκοσμήκεσαν, ταῦτα τότε ταῖς τῶν πολιτῶν κεφαλαῖς ἀπεκοσμεῖτο.

10 Τοσαύτη γὰρ ἑνὶ λόγῳ ἥ τε ἐπιθυμία καὶ ἡ ἀπληστία τῶν φόνων τὸν Μάριον κατέσχεν ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πλεῖστον τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπεκτόνει καὶ οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς ὧν ἐξολέσαι ἐγλίχετο ἐπὶ τὸν νοῦν ἅτε ἐν τοσαύτῃ ταραχῇ ἐπῄει, σύνθημα τοῖς στρατιώταις δοῦναι σφάττειν πάντας ἑξῆς οἷς ἂν τῶν προσιόντων μὴ ὀρέξῃ τὴν χεῖρα. πρὸς γὰρ τοῦτο τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἀφίκετο ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἀκρίτως μηδ' ἀπ' ἔχθρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν οὐκ ἔκτασιν τῆς ἐκείνου χειρὸς ἀπόλ-
11 λυσθαι. καὶ (ἦν γάρ, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἔν τε ὄχλῳ καὶ ἐν θορύβῳ τοσούτῳ οὐδ' αὐτῷ τῷ Μαρίῳ ἐπιμελές, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δυνατὸν οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ ἐβούλετο, κατὰ γνώμην τῇ χειρὶ χρῆσθαι) πολλοὶ κἀκ τούτου μάτην ἀπέθανον, οὓς οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς ἀποκτεῖναι ἐδεῖτο. τὸ μὲν οὖν σύμπαν τῶν τότε[2]

[1] τὸ St., τό τε Ms. [2] τότε Rk., τε γὰρ Ms.

but treating them all alike as enemies. They took especial pains to destroy those who possessed any property, because they coveted wealth; and they abused the children and wives of the victims as if they had enslaved some foreign city. The heads of the most eminent citizens they fastened to the rostra, and that sight was no less cruel than had been their destruction; for, aside from other considerations, the thought might occur to the spectators that what their ancestors had graced with the ships' beaks of the enemy was now being disgraced by the heads of the citizens.

For, in short, so great a desire and insatiable passion for slaughter possessed Marius that when he had killed most of his enemies and could no longer, because of the great confusion prevailing, think of anyone whom he wished to destroy, he gave the word to the soldiers to slay everyone in turn of the passers-by to whom he should not extend his hand. For Roman affairs had come to this, that a man had to die not only without trial and without having incurred enmity, but even for the mere reason that Marius did not stretch out his hand. Now naturally amid so great a throng and such confusion it was not only no object to Marius to make the gesture, but it was not even possible, however much he wished it, to use his hand as he pleased. Hence many died needlessly—men whose death he did not in the least desire. The total number of those who

ἀποθανόντων ἀνεξεύρετόν ἐστι· πέντε γὰρ ὅλαις ἡμέραις καὶ νυξὶν ἴσαις αἱ σφαγαὶ ἐγένοντο.—V. 104 (p. 642).

11ª Δίων λά βιβλίῳ "κἀνταῦθα ἀπογνοὺς μηδέν οἱ τὸν θεὸν ἐπαρκέσειν ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο."—Bekk. Anecd. 140, 25.

12 Ὅτι θυόντων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱσταμένου τοῦ ἔτους τὰ ἐσιτήρια, καὶ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ τὰς εὐχὰς[1] κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ποιουμένων, ὁ υἱὸς Μαρίου δήμαρχόν τινα αὐθεντίᾳ ἀποκτείνας τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔπεμψε, καὶ ἄλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατεκρήμνισεν, ὅπερ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἐπεπόνθει, καὶ δύο στρατηγοὺς καὶ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος εἶρξεν.—V. 105 (p. 645).

104 Ὅτι ὁ ὑποστράτηγος Φλάκκου Φιμβρίας[2] ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐλθόντι αὐτῷ ἐστασίασεν. ἦν γὰρ ἐς πάντα δὴ τολμηρότατος καὶ προπετέστατος, δόξης τε ὁποιασοῦν ἐραστὴς καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἀμείνονος ὀλίγωρος. ἐξ ὧν που καὶ τότε, ἀφ' οὗπερ ἀπῆρεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης, ἀρετήν τε ἐς χρήματα καὶ σπουδὴν περὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας προσποιησάμενος ἀνηρτήσατό τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τῷ
2 Φλάκκῳ συνέκρουσεν. ἠδυνήθη δὲ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος χρημάτων τε ἄπληστος ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἠγάπα τὰ περιγιγνόμενα σφετεριζόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν τροφῆς, ἔκ

[1] εὐχὰς Rk., ἀρχὰς Ms.
[2] Φιμβρίας Val., φιβρίας Ms. (and so elsewhere, except § 6).

perished at this time is beyond finding out; for the slaughter continued through five whole days and an equal number of nights.

Dio, Book XXXI. "And then, despairing of receiving any help from the god, he[1] made away with himself."

While the Romans were offering the usual sacrifice at the beginning of the new year and making their vows for their magistrates according to ancestral rites, the son of Marius slew a tribune with his own hands and sent his head to the consuls, hurled another from the Capitol—a fate which had never befallen such an official—and forbade two praetors the use of fire and water. B.C. 86

Fimbria, the lieutenant of Flaccus, revolted against his superior when the latter reached Byzantium. For he was in all matters very bold and headstrong, passionately fond of any notoriety whatsoever and contemptuous of all his superiors. This led him at that time, after his departure from Rome, to feign an incorruptibility in respect to money and a zeal for the soldiers, which bound them to him and set them at variance with Flaccus. He was able to accomplish this for the reason that Flaccus was insatiable in regard to money, not being content to appropriate what was left over, but enriching himself even from the soldiers' allowance for food and from the

[1] Perhaps L. Cornelius Merula, the flamen Dialis.

τε τῆς λείας, ἣν ἰδίαν ἑκάστοτε ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, ἐχρηματίζετο.—V. 112 (p. 650).

3 Ὅτι ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἀφίκοντο Φλάκκος καὶ Φιμβρίας, καὶ ὁ Φλάκκος ἔξω τοῦ τείχους αὐτοὺς αὐλίσασθαι κελεύσας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλθε, παραλαβὼν[1] τοῦτο ὁ Φιμβρίας χρήματά τε αὐτὸν εἰληφέναι κατῃτιᾶτο, καὶ διέβαλλε λέγων ὡς ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἔνδον τρυφῴη,[2] σφεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ σκηναῖς ἐν χειμῶνι ταλαιπωροῖντο. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἔς τε τὸ ἄστυ θυμῷ ἔπεσον, καί τινας τῶν ἐμπεσόντων σφίσιν ἀποκτείναντες ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐσκεδάσθησαν.—V. 113 (p. 650).

4 Ὅτι διαφορᾶς τινὸς τῷ Φιμβρίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ταμίαν γενομένης ἠπείλησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Φλάκκος ἄκοντα ἐς Ῥώμην ἀποπέμψειν, λοιδορησάμενόν τέ τι διὰ τοῦτο αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀφείλετο. ὁ δὲ Φιμβρίας ἐς τὴν ἀποπορείαν δῆθεν ἐπαχθέστατα στειλάμενος πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀφίκετο, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφόδῳ αὐτοὺς ἠσπάζετο, γράμματά τε ᾔτει, καὶ ἑαυτὸν
5 ὡς καὶ ἀνάξια πεπονθὼς ὠδύρετο· μεμνῆσθαί τέ σφισι ὧν ὑπουργήκει, καὶ φυλακήν σφων ποιεῖσθαι, αἰνιττόμενος ἐς τὸν Φλάκκον ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσοντα αὐτοῖς, παρῄνει. καὶ μαθὼν τὰ λεγόμενα δεχομένους καὶ ἑαυτῷ εὔνοιαν ἔχοντας καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνον ὑποπτεύοντας, ἀνέβη ἐπὶ μετέωρον καὶ προσπαρώξυνέ σφας, ἄλλα τέ τινα τοῦ

[1] παραλαβὼν Bs., παραλαβὼν δὲ Ms.
[2] τρυφῴη Gros., τρυφῶν Ms.

booty, which he invariably considered as belonging to him.

When Flaccus and Fimbria had arrived at Byzantium and Flaccus, after commanding them to encamp outside the wall, had gone into the city, Fimbria seized the occasion to accuse him of having taken money, and denounced him, declaring that he was living in luxury within, whereas they were enduring hardships under the shelter of tents, in storm and cold. The soldiers then angrily rushed into the city, killed some of those that fell upon them, and scattered to the various houses.

On the occasion of some dispute between Fimbria and the quaestor, Flaccus threatened to send him back to Rome, willing or not, and when the other consequently made some abusive reply, he deprived him of his command. Fimbria set out ostensibly upon his return to Rome with the worst possible will and upon reaching the soldiers at Byzantium greeted them as if he were on the point of departure, asked for letters, and lamented his fate, claiming to have suffered undeservedly. He urged them to remember the services he had done them and to be on their guard; this was a hidden reference to Flaccus, implying that he had designs upon them. And finding that they accepted his story and were well disposed toward him and suspicious of the general, he mounted an eminence and went on to arouse their anger by

Φλάκκου κατηγορήσας, καὶ ὅτι προδώσει αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ χρημάτων· ὥστε τοὺς στρατιώτας Θέρμον τὸν ἐπιτεταγμένον σφίσιν ἀπελάσαι.—V. 114 (p. 650).

6 Ὅτι ὁ Φιμβρίας ἄνδρας πολλοὺς οὐ πρὸς τὸ δικαιότατον οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ τῇ Ῥώμῃ συμφορώτατον, ἀλλ' ὀργῇ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ φόνων[1] ἀπώλλυεν. τεκμήριον δέ, σταυρούς ποτε πολλούς, οἷς προσδέων αὐτοὺς καὶ αἰκιζόμενος διεχρῆτο, γενέσθαι προστάξας, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ πολὺ πλείους τῶν θανατωθησομένων εὑρέθησαν ὄντες, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τῶν περιεστηκότων τινὰς συλληφθῆναι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς προσδεθῆναι, ἵνα μὴ μάτην δόξωσι γεγονέναι.—V. 115 (p. 653).

7 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ Ἴλιον λαβὼν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὅσους ἠδυνήθη μηδενὸς φεισάμενος κατεχρήσατο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν ὀλίγου κατέπρησεν. εἷλε δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρόν, ἀλλ' ἀπατήσας· ἔπαινον γάρ τινα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν πεμφθείσῃ ποιησάμενος, καὶ διαφέρειν μηδὲν ὁποτέρῳ[2] σπείσονται (ἀμφοτέρους γάρ σφας Ῥωμαίους εἶναι) εἰπών, ἔπειτα ὡς παρὰ φίλους αὐτοὺς ἐσῆλθε καὶ ἐξειργάσατο ταῦτα.—V. 116 (p. 653).

8 Ἐν δὲ λγ' βιβλίῳ (Δίων) "δι' οὖν ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον οὔτε τι προσεποιεῖτο αὐτῶν . . ."—Bekk. Anecd. 165, 15.

[1] φόνων Val., φθόνων Ms. [2] ὁποτέρῳ Rk., εἰ ὁποτέρῳ Ms.

accusing Flaccus of various other faults, and finally charging that he was going to betray them for money; hence the soldiers drove away Thermus, who had been assigned to take charge of them.

Fimbria destroyed many men, not to serve the best ends of justice nor to secure the greatest benefit to Rome, but out of anger and lust of slaughter. Here is a proof. On one occasion he had ordered a large number of stakes to be prepared, to which he would then bind the condemned and flog them to death; and when these were found to be far in excess of the number who were to be put to death, he commanded some of the bystanders to be seized and bound to the extra stakes, that they might not seem to have been prepared in vain. B.C. 85

The same man on capturing Ilium slaughtered as many persons as he could, sparing none, and all but burned the whole city to the ground. And yet he had taken the place not by storm, but by guile. For after bestowing some praise on them for the embassy sent to Sulla and stating that it made no difference with which one of the two they came to terms, since he and Sulla were both Romans, he thereupon went in among them as among friends and did these deeds.

[Dio], Book XXXIII. "For this reason, then, he [Sulla?] had up to this time neither been laying claim to any of those . . ."

106 Ὅτι ὁ Μέτελλος ὑπὸ Κίννου ἡττηθεὶς ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν ἧκε καὶ πλεῖστα αὐτῷ συνήρατο· πρὸς γάρ τοι τὴν δόξαν τῆς τε δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ τῶν τἀναντία τῷ Σύλλᾳ πραττόντων, νομίσαντες αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀκρίτως οἱ συνεῖναι ἀλλὰ τά τε δικαιότερα καὶ τὰ τῇ πατρίδι συμφορώτερα ὄντως αἱρεῖσθαι, προσεχώρησαν σφίσι.—V. 117 (p. 653).

107 Ὅτι ὁ Πομπήιος υἱὸς ἦν τοῦ Στράβωνος, συνεκρίθη δὲ ὑπὸ Πλουτάρχου Ἀγησιλάῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ. ἀχθόμενος δὲ τοῖς τὴν πόλιν ἔχουσι ἐξωρμήθη ἐς τὸ Πικηνὸν αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐδὲ ἐς ἄνδρας πω πάνυ τελῶν, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων χεῖρά τινα διὰ[1] τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡγεμονίαν ἀθροίσας δυναστείαν ἰδίαν συνίστη, καὶ ᾠήθη ἐλλόγιμόν τι πρᾶξαι καθ' ἑαυτόν· καὶ τῷ Σύλλᾳ προσεχώρησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ[2] τούτων ἀρξάμενος οὐδὲν μείων ἐκείνου ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ που καὶ ἡ ἐπίκλησις αὐτῷ προσετέθη, μέγας ηὐξήθη.—V. 118 (p. 653).

Δίων λγ' βιβλίῳ "καὶ γὰρ γελοῖόν ἐστιν, ἐν Καμπανίᾳ τε αὐτοῦ ὄντος καὶ δυναμένου διὰ ταχέων ὧν αἰτίαν ἔχει λόγον ὑποσχεῖν, ἐμὲ ὑπερδικεῖν."—Bekk. Anecd. 177, 30.

Δίων λγ' βιβλίῳ "πῶς δ' ἄν τις πιστεύσειεν αὐτῷ;"—*Ib.* 162, 19.

[1] διὰ Rk., παρὰ Ms.
[2] ἀπὸ supplied by Rk.

Metellus after being defeated by Cinna came to Sulla, and was of the greatest assistance to him. For in view of his reputation for justice and filial devotion not a few of those even who were opposed to Sulla's policy decided that it was not without reason that Metellus was associating with him but that he was choosing what was really juster and more advantageous for the country, and hence they went over to that side. B.C. 83

Pompey was the son of Strabo, and has been compared by Plutarch with Agesilaus, the Lacedaemonian.[1] Being angry with those who held the city, he proceeded on his own account to Picenum before he had quite yet come to man's estate, and thanks to his father's former rule there he gathered from the inhabitants a small band and set up a sovereignty of his own, thinking to perform some famous exploit by himself; then he joined Sulla. And from this beginning he became no less a man than his chief, but, even as his title indicates, grew to be Great.

Dio, Book XXXIII. "For it is ridiculous when he [Scipio ?] is in Campania and able quickly to give his answer to the charges brought against him, for me to plead in his behalf."[2]

Dio, Book XXXIII. "But how could anyone believe him [Sulla ?]."[2]

[1] The reference to Plutarch is hardly by Dio, as he is not in the habit of naming his authorities. Cf. Fr. 40, 5.

[2] von Gutschmid believes §§ 2 and 3 are from the speech of Sertorius to his troops in defence of Scipio. Cf. Appian, *B.C.* 1, 85.

108 Ὅτι ὁ Σύλλας τὸ στράτευμα παρέδωκεν ἀνδρὶ μήτ' ἄλλως ἐπαινουμένῳ,[1] καίπερ πολλοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς συγγενομένων οἱ ἔχων καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ πράξει προφέροντας, οἷς[2] που καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ὡς καὶ πιστοτάτοις ἐκέχρητο. καὶ πρὶν μὲν νικῆσαι ἐδεῖτό τε αὐτῶν καὶ ταῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὠφελίαις ἀπεχρῆτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγυτέρω τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ παντελῶς κρατήσειν ἐγένετο, οὐδένα αὐτῶν ἔτι λόγον ἐποιεῖτο, τοῖς δὲ κακίστοις καὶ μήτε ἐν περιφανείᾳ γένους μήτε ἐν δόξῃ ἀρετῆς οὖσι
2 μᾶλλον ἐπίστευσεν. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους πρὸς πάντα αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ χείριστα ἑτοίμους ὄντας ὑπουργεῖν ἑώρα, καὶ χάριν τε ἑαυτῷ πλείστην κἂν ἐλαχίστου τινὸς τύχωσιν ὀφειλήσειν, καὶ μήθ' ὑπερφρονήσειν ποτὲ μήτε τῶν ἔργων ἢ τῶν βουλευμάτων ἀντιποιήσεσθαι[3] ἐνόμιζεν, τὸ δ' ἀρετὴν ἔχον οὔτε συγκακουργεῖν οἱ ἐθελήσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτιμήσειν, καὶ τὰ γέρα τῶν εὐεργετημάτων κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπαιτήσειν, καὶ μηδεμίαν χάριν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἅτε καὶ ὀφειλόμενά σφισι ἀπολαμβάνοντας ἕξειν, τάς τε πράξεις καὶ τὰς συμβουλίας ὡς καὶ ἑαυτῶν οὔσας προσποιήσεσθαι.—V. 119 (p. 654).

[1] The sentence is obviously incomplete. Reiske supplied μήτ' ἐν στρατηγίᾳ ("neither in generalship") before μήτ', while Bs. assumes the loss of several words after ἐπαινουμένῳ.
[2] οἷς Val., ὡς Ms.
[3] ἀντιποιήσεσθαι Val., ἀντιποιήσασθαι Ms.

Sulla handed over the army to a man [Ofella] commended [neither for his generalship nor] otherwise, in spite of the fact that he had many who had been with him from the beginning, superior in skill and experience, whom up to that time he had employed in all emergencies as being thoroughly reliable. Before his victory he had been accustomed to make requests of them and to avail himself freely of their services; but as he drew nearer to his dream of absolute power, he no longer took any account of them, but reposed his trust rather in the basest men, and in those who were neither conspicuous for their family nor possessed of a reputation for uprightness. The reason was that he saw that such persons were ready to assist him in all his projects, even the basest; and he thought they would be most grateful to him if they should obtain even the smallest favours, and moreover would never feel themselves his superiors nor lay claim to either his deeds or his plans. The virtuous element, on the other hand, would not be willing to help him in his evil-doing but would even rebuke him; they would demand rewards for benefits conferred, according to merit, would feel no gratitude for them but accept them as their due, and would claim his deeds and plans as their own. B.C. 82

109 Ὅτι ὁ Σύλλας νικήσας τοὺς Σαυνίτας μέχρι μὲν δὴ οὖν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης διαπρεπὴς ἦν, καὶ ὄνομα ἀπό τε τῶν στρατηγημάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βουλευμάτων μέγιστον ἔσχε, φιλανθρωπίᾳ τε καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ πολὺ προέχειν ἐνομίζετο, ὥστε καὶ τὴν τύχην σύμμαχον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς πάντας
2 ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἡγεῖσθαι· μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἐποιήσατο ὥστε μηδ' ἂν[1] τοῦ αὐτοῦ τινα φάναι ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ ἔπειτα εἶναι. οὕτως, ὡς[2] ἔοικεν, οὐκ ἤνεγκεν εὐτυχήσας. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα ἃ ἕως ἀσθενὴς ἦν ἄλλοις ἐπεκάλει, καὶ ἕτερα πλείω καὶ ἀτοπώτερα ἔπραξε, βουλόμενος μέν που καὶ ἀεὶ αὐτά, ἐλεγχθεὶς δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ. ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἔδοξέ τισιν ἡ κακοπραγία μέρος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἔχειν τῆς ἀρετῆς.[3]
3 ὁ γὰρ Σύλλας ὡς τάχιστα[4] τῶν Σαυνιτῶν ἐκράτησε καὶ τέλος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπιτεθεικέναι ἐνόμισε (τὰ γὰρ δὴ λοιπὰ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιεῖτο), μετεβάλετο, καὶ ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἔξω τε τῶν τειχῶν τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατέλιπεν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Κίνναν καὶ τὸν Μάριον τούς τε[5] ἄλλους τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν γενομένους πάντας ἅμα ὑπερέβαλεν. ὅσα γὰρ μηδένα τῶν δήμων τῶν ὀθνείων ἀντιπολεμησάντων οἱ ἔδρασε, ταῦτα τότε τὴν πατρίδα καθάπερ καὶ
4 ἐκείνην νικήσας ἐξειργάσατο. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐθη-

[1] μηδ' ἂν Bk., μηδὲ Ms. [2] ὡς supplied by Val.
[3] τῆς ἀρετῆς supplied by Cary, τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ Bs.
[4] ὡς τάχιστα Dind., τάχιστα ὡς Ms.
[5] τούς τε supplied by Bs., space of some six letters in Ms.

Sulla up to the day that he conquered the Samnites had been a conspicuous figure, possessing the greatest renown for his generalship and his plans, and was believed to be a very superior man both in humaneness and piety, so that all believed he had Fortune as an ally because of his excellence. But after this event he changed so much that one would not say his earlier and his later deeds were those of the same person. Thus it would appear that he could not endure good fortune. For he now committed acts which he had censured in other persons while he was still weak, and a great many others still more outrageous. He had doubtless always desired to act thus, but revealed himself only in the day of his power. This fact produced a strong conviction in the minds of some that adversity has not a little to do with virtue. Thus Sulla, as soon as he had conquered the Samnites and thought he had put an end to the war,—for he considered the rest as of no account,—changed his course, and leaving behind his former self, as it were, outside the wall on the field of battle, proceeded to outdo Cinna and Marius and all their successors combined. Treatment that he had accorded to none of the foreign peoples who had opposed him he bestowed upon his native land, as if he had actually subdued that also. In the first place,

μερὸν τὰς κεφαλὰς τοῦ τε Δαμασίππου καὶ τῶν συνεξετασθέντων αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ Πραινέστε πέμψας ἀνεσκολόπισε, καὶ τῶν παραδόντων σφᾶς ἐθελοντὰς συχνοὺς ὡς καὶ ἄκοντας ἑλὼν ἀπέκτεινεν.
5 καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς ἐς τὸ Ἐνυεῖον, ὡς καὶ ἀπολογιούμενός[1] τι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ζωγρηθεῖσι ἐς τὸν ἀγρὸν τὸν δημόσιον καλούμενον ὡς καὶ ἐς τὸν κατάλογον αὐτοὺς ἐσγράψων συνελθεῖν κελεύσας, τούτους ἅμα δι' ἑτέρων ἐφόνευσε (καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνθρώπων ἀναμιχθέντες σφίσι παραπώλοντο), καὶ ἐκείνοις αὐτὸς[2] πικρότατα διελέξατο.—V. 120 (p. 654).
6 Ὅτι ὁ φόνος τῶν ἑαλωκότων καὶ τότε οὐδὲν ἧττον ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ἐγίγνετο, καὶ αὐτῶν ἅτε ἐγγὺς τοῦ ναοῦ θνησκόντων πολὺς μὲν θόρυβος πολὺς δὲ καὶ θρῆνος οἰμωγαί τε καὶ ὀδυρμοὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσέπιπτον,[3] ὥστε τὴν γερουσίαν ἀμφο-
7 τέρωθεν ἐκταράττεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πόρρω ἔτι τοῦ τι καὶ αὐτοὶ δεινὸν πείσεσθαι προσδοκᾶν ἦσαν, οὕτως ἀνόσια αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντος ἅμα καὶ πράττοντος· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοί, ἅτε ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐν ταὐτῷ περιαλγοῦντες, ἐπεθύμουν τῶν ἔξω καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἤδη ἀπολλυμένων εἶναι, ἵνα
8 παύσωνταί ποτε φοβούμενοι. ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μὲν

[1] ἀπολογιούμενός Bk., ἀπολογούμενός Ms.
[2] αὐτὸς Rk., αὐτοῖς Ms. [3] ἐσέπιπτον Bk., συνέπιπτον Ms.

he promptly sent the heads of Damasippus and his followers to Praeneste and had them stuck on poles; and many of those who voluntarily surrendered he killed as if he had captured them without their consent. The next day he ordered the senators to assemble at the temple of Bellona, as if he were going to make some defence of his conduct, and ordered the captives to meet at the so-called "public field,"[1] as if he would enroll them in the lists; and while these were slain by others at his command (and there perished along with them many persons from the city who were mixed in among them), he himself addressed a very bitter speech to the senators.

The massacre of the prisoners was going on just the same even then under Sulla's direction, and as they were being killed near the temple, the great uproar and lamentation that they made, their cries and wails, invaded the senate-house. Thus the senators were doubly alarmed; for they had now about come to the point of expecting that they themselves, too, would suffer some terrible fate, so unholy were both his words and his deeds. Therefore many, tortured by this two-fold anguish, were wishing that they themselves belonged to the number of men already perishing outside, in order that they might gain respite at last from fear. Their fate, however, was postponed,

[1] The *villa publica*.

ἀνεβέβλητο, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι κατεσφάγησαν καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρρίφησαν, ὥστε τὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πολὺ δεινὸν νομισθέν, ὅτι ποτὲ πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ῥωμαίους ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐν βραχεῖ πρός τε τὸ[1] πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς τὸν τρόπον
9 τῶν τότε φονευθέντων νομισθῆναι. οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸ δεινὸν ἔστη, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀπὸ φρυκτωρίας τινὸς ἐκεῖθεν αἱ σφαγαὶ ἀρξάμεναι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει καὶ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταῖς τε πόλεσι ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πάσαις ἐγένοντο. πολλοὺς μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Σύλλας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἑταῖροι αὐτοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἀληθείας, οἱ δὲ καὶ προσποιούμενοι, ἐμίσουν, ὅπως ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἔργων ὁμοιότητος τό τε ὁμόηθές οἱ ἐνδεικνύοντες καὶ τὴν φιλίαν βεβαιοῦντες, μὴ[2] ἐκ τοῦ διαφόρου αὐτῷ[3] ὑποπτευθῶσί τε[4] καταγιγνώσκειν τι αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
10 κινδυνεύσωσιν. ἔσφαζον δὲ καὶ ὅσους πλουτοῦντας ἢ καὶ ἄλλως πως ὑπερέχοντάς σφων ἑώρων, τοὺς μὲν φθόνῳ, τοὺς δὲ διὰ τὰ χρήματα· πλεῖστοι γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ τῶν μέσων, κἂν μηδετέρωσε συναίρωνται . . . ,[5] ἴδιόν τι ἔγκλημα τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἢ καὶ γένει πλούτῳ τέ τινος προέχειν λαμβάνοντες. καὶ ἀσφάλεια οὐδεμία οὐδενὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν κράτει τινὶ ἀδικεῖν βουλομένους εὑρίσκετο.—V. 121 (p. 657).

[1] τὸ supplied by Rk. [2] μὴ supplied by Val. [3] αὐτῷ Rk., αὐτῶν Ms. [4] τε Rk., τε καὶ Ms. [5] μηδετέρωσε συναίρωνται . . . Bs., μηδε ετέρασ εἰ συναιρωντεσ Ms.

while the rest were slaughtered and thrown into the river, so that the deed of Mithridates, deemed so terrible, in slaughtering all the Romans in Asia in one day, was regarded as of slight importance in comparison with the number now massacred and their manner of death. Nor did the horror stop here, but the massacres which began at this point, as if by a kind of signal, occurred in the country and in all the cities of Italy, as well as in the capital. Many, of course, were objects of Sulla's hatred, many also of that of his followers; but, while with some this hatred was genuine, with others it was a mere pretence. They wished to show that they were like him by doing like deeds, and so strengthen their place in his friendship; thus they would not, by reason of any dissimilarity, be suspected of disapproving some of his deeds, and so incur danger. They proceeded to murder all whom they saw to surpass them either in wealth or in any other respect, some out of envy and others on account of their possessions. For under such conditions many neutral persons even, though they may take neither side, become the objects of some private complaint, as surpassing someone in excellence or wealth and family, [and so perish ?]. No safety was to be found for any one against those possessing any power who wished to commit injustice.

11 Ὅτι τοιαῦται συμφοραὶ τὴν Ῥώμην περιέσχον. τί γὰρ ἄν τις τὰς τῶν ζώντων ὕβρεις λέγοι, αἳ πολλαὶ μὲν περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, πολλαὶ δὲ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους καὶ ἐλλογιμωτάτους καθάπερ αἰχμαλώτους ἐγίγνοντο; οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνα, καίπερ χαλεπώτατα ὄντα, τῷ γοῦν ὁμοιοτρόπῳ τῶν ἤδη σφίσι συμβεβηκότων οἰστὰ
12 τοῖς γε ἐκτὸς τούτων οὖσιν ἐδόκει εἶναι. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐξήρκει τῷ Σύλλᾳ, οὐδ' ἠγάπα τὰ αὐτὰ ἑτέροις δρῶν, ἀλλά τις αὐτῷ πόθος ἐσῄει καὶ ἐν τῇ πολυτροπίᾳ τῶν φόνων πολὺ πάντων περιεῖναι, ὥσπερ τινὰ ἀρετὴν οὖσαν τὸ μηδὲ ἐν ταῖς μιαιφονίαις τινὸς ἡττᾶσθαι, τινὰ καινότητα ἐξέθηκε λελευκωμένον πίνακα, ἐς ὃν ἐνέγραφε τὰ
13 ὀνόματα. οὐ μέντοι γε ἧττον πάντα ὅσα καὶ πρὶν ἐγίγνετο,[1] οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ οἱ μὴ ἐς τὰ λευκώματα ἐγγεγραμμένοι ἦσαν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ οἱ μὲν ζῶντες οἱ δὲ καὶ τεθνηκότες ἐπ' ἀδείᾳ τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων σφᾶς προσενεγράφοντο, ὥστε ἐν τούτῳ μηδὲν διενεγκεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα, τῇ τε δεινότητι τῇ τε ἀτοπίᾳ αὐτοῦ πάνυ πάντας χαλεπανθῆναι.
14 τά τε γὰρ πινάκια ὥσπερ τις ἀναγραφὴ βουλευτῶν ἢ κατάλογος στρατιωτῶν νομιζομένων ἐξετίθετο, καὶ συνέθεον ἐπ' αὐτὰ πάντες οἱ ἀεὶ παριόντες[2] σπουδῇ, καθάπερ τινὰ χρηστὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἔχοντα· καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν συγγενεῖς, ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ

[1] ἐγίγνετο Val., γίγνεται Ms. [2] παριόντες Bk., παρόντες Ms.

Such calamities encompassed Rome. But why narrate the outrages offered to the living, in many cases to women, and in many to the noblest and most distinguished boys, as if they were captives taken in war? Nevertheless, these deeds, though most distressing, still by reason of their similarity to others previously experienced seemed endurable to such persons at least as were not involved in them. But Sulla was not satisfied, nor was he content to do the same as others; a certain longing came over him to go far beyond all others in the variety also of his murders, as if there were some virtue in being excelled by none even in blood-guiltiness. Accordingly he brought forward a new device, a whitened tablet, on which he inscribed the names. Nevertheless everything went on as before, and not even those whose names were not inscribed on the tablets were safe. For the names of many, some living and others actually dead, were added to the lists so that the slayers might gain immunity; thus in this respect the procedure marked no new departure, yet equally by its terror and by its strangeness it angered absolutely every one. The tablets were exposed like some register of senators or list of approved soldiers, and all those passing by from time to time would rush up eagerly to it in crowds, just as if it contained some favourable announcement; then many would find

ἑαυτοὺς εὕρισκον ἐγγεγραμμένους,[1] κἀκ τούτου τὸ πάθος οἷα ἐξαπιναίῳ κακῷ φοβερώτερόν[2] σφας κατελάμβανεν· καὶ συχνοὶ καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τούτου
15 γνωριζόμενοι διώλλυντο. καὶ ἦν οὐδενὶ ἔξω τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἑταιρείας ἀσφαλὲς οὐδέν. εἴτε γὰρ προσίοι τις τοῖς[3] λευκώμασιν, αἰτίαν ὡς καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν τι εἶχεν, εἴτε μὴ προσίοι, δυσχεραίνειν ἐδόκει. καὶ ὅ τε ἀναλεγόμενος ἢ καὶ ἐπερωτῶν τινα τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα ὕποπτος, ὡς καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τι τῶν τε ἑταίρων ζητῶν, ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ὁ μὴ ἀναγιγνώσκων μηδὲ πυνθανόμενος ἄχθεσθαί τε αὐτοῖς ὑπωπτεύετο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐμισεῖτο.
16 τό τε δακρῦσαι ἢ καὶ γελάσαι θανάσιμον τὸ παραχρῆμα ἐγίγνετο· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πολλοί, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ εἶπόν τι ἢ καὶ ἔπραξαν ὧν ἀπείρητο, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι καὶ ἐσκυθρώπασαν ἢ καὶ ἐμειδίασαν, ἐφθείροντο. οὕτω καὶ τὰ σχήματα αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς ἐτηρεῖτο, καὶ οὐκ ἐξῆν οὐδενὶ οὔτε ἐπὶ φίλῳ[4] ὀδύρασθαι οὔτε ἐπ᾽ ἐχθρῷ ἐφησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ
17 ἐκεῖνοι ὡς καὶ χλευάζοντές τινα ἐσφάζοντο. καὶ προσέτι καὶ αἱ[5] ἐπικλήσεις συχνοῖς πράγματα παρεῖχον· ἀγνοοῦντες γάρ τινες τοὺς ἐπικεκηρυγμένους ἐπὶ πάντας οὓς ἐβούλοντο τὰς ἐπωνυμίας αὐτῶν ἦγον, καὶ πολλοὶ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἀνθ᾽ ἑτέρων ἀπέθανον. ὥστε καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ταραχήν, τῶν

[1] ἐγγεγραμμένους Polak, ἐγγεγραμμένους κτείνεσθαι Ms.
[2] φοβερώτερον Kuiper, φοβερόν Ms.
[3] τοῖς added by Bk.
[4] φίλῳ Rk., φίλων Ms.
[5] αἱ added by Rk.

relatives' names inscribed, and some, indeed, their own, whereupon their fate, because of the suddenness of the calamity, became the more terrible, and many of them, making themselves known by their very behaviour, perished. There was no safety at all for any one outside of Sulla's circle. For if a man approached the tablets, he incurred censure as a busybody, whereas, if he failed to approach, he was regarded as a malcontent. The man who read the list or asked any one a question about what was written there became suspected of enquiring about himself or his companions, and the one who did not read or enquire was suspected of being displeased at it and for that reason incurred hatred. Tears or laughter proved fatal on the spot; hence many were destroyed, not because they had said or done anything forbidden, but because they either frowned or smiled. So carefully were their attitudes observed; and it was permitted to no one either to mourn over a friend or to exult over an enemy, but even these were slain on the ground that they were jeering at somebody. Furthermore many found trouble in their very names: for some who were unacquainted with the proscribed applied their names to whomsoever they pleased, and thus many perished in the place of others. This resulted in

μὲν ὅπως ποτὲ ἐβούλοντο τὸν προστυχόντα[1]
ὀνομαζόντων, τῶν δὲ ἀρνουμένων μὴ οὕτω καλεῖ-
18 σθαι, γίγνεσθαι. ἐφονεύοντο δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀγνοοῦντες
ὅτι τελευτήσουσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ προειδότες, πανταχοῦ
ὅπουπερ ἐτύγχανον[2] ὄντες· καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν αὐτοῖς
χωρίον, οὐχ ὅσιον, οὐχ ἱερόν, οὔτ' ἀσφαλὲς οὔτ'
ἄσυλον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐξαίφνης, πρὶν
μαθεῖν τὴν ἐπικρεμαμένην συμφοράν, ἢ καὶ ἅμα
τῇ πύστει αὐτῆς, διαφθειρόμενοι τῇ γοῦν εὐτυχίᾳ[3]
19 τῆς μὴ προεκφοβήσεως ἐπεκουφίζοντο· οἱ δὲ δὴ
προαισθόμενοι τοῦ δεινοῦ καὶ κατακρυπτόμενοι
χαλεπώτατα ἀπήλλασσον· οὔτε[4] γὰρ ἀποχω-
ρῆσαι μὴ φωραθεῖεν ἐτόλμων, οὔτ' αὖ κατὰ χώραν
μένειν μὴ καὶ[5] προδοθεῖεν ὑπέμενον. πλεῖστοι δὲ
καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν συνόντων καὶ φιλτάτων σφίσι προεδό-
20 θησαν καὶ ἀπώλοντο. κἀκ τούτου τῇ προσδοκίᾳ
τοῦ[6] ἀεὶ τὸν θάνατον προσδέχεσθαι οὐχ ὅτι[7] οἱ
ἐς τὰ πινάκια ἐγγεγραμμένοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ
λοιποὶ ὁμοίως ἔπασχον.—V. 122 (p. 658).

21 Ὅτι πάντων τῶν σφαζομένων ὁπουδὰν αἱ
κεφαλαὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀγορὰν ἐκομίζοντο
καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐξετίθεντο, ὥσθ' ὅσα περὶ
τὰς προγραφὰς συνέβαινεν, ταῦτα καὶ περὶ
ἐκείνας γίγνεσθαι.—V. 123 (p. 662).

[1] τὸν προστυχόντα Rk., τῶν προστυχόντων Ms.
[2] ὅπουπερ ἐτύγχανον Val., ὅπου παρετύγχανον Ms.
[3] εὐτυχίᾳ Val., ἀτυχίᾳ Ms.
[4] οὔτε Bk., οὐ Ms.
[5] μὴ καὶ Val., καὶ μὴ Ms.
[6] τοῦ Bs., τὸ Ms.
[7] οὐχ ὅτι Bs., ὅτι οὐχ Ms.

great confusion, since some would apply to any they met whatever names they pleased, and the others would deny that these were their names. Some were murdered while still ignorant of the fact that they were to die, and others, who knew it in advance, were slain anywhere that they happened to be; no place, either profane or sacred, was safe or inviolate for them. Some, to be sure, by perishing suddenly before learning of the catastrophe hanging over them, or indeed at the very moment of receiving the news, were fortunate in being relieved of the terror preceding death; but those who learned of their danger in advance and hid themselves were in a wretched plight. They neither dared to withdraw, for fear of being detected, nor could they endure to remain where they were for fear of betrayal. Very many of them were actually betrayed by their associates and those dearest to them, and so perished. Consequently, as a result of this state of constant expectation of death, not only those whose names were inscribed suffered, but the rest also in equal measure.

The heads of all those slaughtered in whatever place were brought to the Roman Forum and exposed on the rostra, so that the same scenes were being enacted around them as around the proscription lists.

111 Ὅτι τῶν Κρητῶν πρεσβευσαμένων πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ ἐλπιζόντων τάς τε παλαιὰς σπονδὰς ἀνανεώσεσθαι[1] καὶ προσέτι καὶ εὐεργεσίαν τῆς τοῦ ταμίου τῶν τε συστρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ[2] σωτηρίας εὑρήσεσθαι, οὗτοι ὀργὴν μᾶλλον ὅτι μὴ ἑάλωσαν λαβόντες ἢ χάριν αὐτοῖς ὅτι μὴ ἐκείνους ἔφθειραν γνόντες, οὔτ' ἄλλως μέτριόν τι ἀπεκρίναντο, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τούς τε αὐτομόλους
2 ἅπαντας παρ' αὐτῶν ἀπῄτησαν. καὶ ὁμήρους χρήματά τε πολλὰ αἰτήσαντες, τάς τε ναῦς τὰς μείζους καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς κορυφαίους ἐξαιτήσαντες, οὐκ ἀνέμειναν τὴν οἴκοθεν αὐτῶν ἀπόκρισιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτίκα τὸν ἕτερον ταῦτά τε ληψόμενον καὶ πολεμήσοντά σφισιν, ἂν μὴ
3 διδῶσιν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔμελλον,[3] ἐξέπεμψαν· οἵ[4] γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, πρὶν αἰτηθῆναί τι τοιοῦτο καὶ κρατῆσαι, μὴ θελήσαντες ὁμολογῆσαι πῶς ἂν μετὰ τὴν νίκην τοσαῦτά τε ἅμα καὶ τοιαῦτα προστασσόμενοι ἤνεγκαν; τοῦτό τε οὖν σαφῶς[5] εἰδότες, καὶ προσυποπτεύσαντες τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπιχειρήσειν τινάς, ὡς καὶ κωλύσοντας τὴν στρατείαν, διαφθεῖραι[6] χρήμασιν, ἐψηφίσαντο ἐν τῇ βουλῇ μηδένα αὐτοῖς μηδὲν δανεῖσαι.—U^G 29 (p. 388).

3^b Ἐν λε' βιβλίῳ (Δίων) "ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἡμῶν προσποιῆσαι."—Bekk. Anecd. 165, 18.

[1] ἀνανεώσεσθαι Leuncl., ἀνανεώσασθαι Mss.
[2] αὐτοῦ Bs., αὐτῶν Mss. [3] ἔμελλον Urs., ἔμελλεν Mss.
[4] οἵ Urs., ᾧ Mss. [5] σαφῶς Leuncl., σφᾶς Mss.
[6] διαφθεῖραι Rk., διαφθαρῆναι and διαφθαρῆσαι Mss.

The Cretans sent an embassy to the Romans, hoping to renew the old treaty and furthermore to obtain some kindness in return for saving the quaestor and his soldiers. But the Romans, possessed rather with anger at their failure to subdue the Cretans than with gratitude to them for not destroying their men, returned no mild answer, but among other things demanded back from them all the captives and deserters. They also demanded hostages and large sums of money, required the larger ships and the chief men to be given up, and would not wait for an answer from the envoys' country, but sent out one of the consuls immediately to take over the things surrendered and to make war upon them if they failed to give them up—as proved to be the case. For why should these men, who had refused to make terms in the beginning, before any such demand had been made and before they had conquered, now submit, after their victory, to demands of such a nature? The Romans, clearly realizing this fact and suspecting, furthermore, that the envoys would try to corrupt some persons with money, so as to hinder the expedition, voted in the senate that no one should lend them anything. B.C. 70

[Dio,] Book XXXV. "Or to assist our enemies."

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN REFERENCE

Δίων ἐν Ῥωμαϊκῇ ἱστορίᾳ[1] "ὀλίγα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ κουφότατα τῶν πλοίων πρὸς τῇ γῇ ὥρμει· τὰ δὲ δὴ πλείω καὶ μείζω μετέωρα διὰ τὰ τενάγη ἀπεσάλευεν."—Etym. Magn., Photius and Suidas *s.v.* ἐσάλευε, Suidas *s.v.* τενάγη, Apostol.

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 44.[2]

Αὐσονία δὲ κυρίως, ὡς Δίων γράφει ὁ Κοκκειανός, ἡ τῶν Αὐρούγκων γῆ μόνη λέγεται, μέσον Καμπανῶν καὶ Οὐολκῶν παρὰ θάλασσαν κειμένη, συχνοὶ δὲ μέχρι τοῦ Λατίου Αὐσονίαν εἶναι ἐνόμισαν, ὥστε καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπ' αὐτῆς . . .

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 615.[2]

Αὔσονες γὰρ κυρίως, ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς εἶπον, οἱ Αὐροῦγκοι λέγονται μέσον Καμπανῶν καὶ Οὐόλκων κείμενοι· οἱ δὲ μέχρι Λατίου Αὐσονίαν ἐνόμισαν εἶναι, ὥστε ἐκ τούτου τινὲς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν φασίν.

[1] Ῥωμαϊκῇ ἱστορίᾳ Et. Magn., Ῥωμαϊκοῖς Suid., Phot., Apost.
[2] The text is that of Scheer in his edition of the scholia (1908).

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN REFERENCE

Dio, *Roman History*. "A few of the lightest boats were moored inshore; but most of them, being larger, rode at anchor in the open sea because of the shoals."

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 44.

The name Ausonia, according to Dio Cocceianus, is properly applied only to the land of the Aurunci, situated on the coast between the Campanians and Volsci. Yet many have supposed that Ausonia extended up to Latium, so that from it all Italy [was called Ausonia].

Tzetzes in Lycophr. Alex. 615.

The name Ausonians, as I wrote near the beginning, is properly applied to the Aurunci situated between the Campanians and Volsci. Yet some have supposed that Ausonia extended up to Latium, so that from this circumstance some say that [it was] the whole of Italy.

(1) Δίων "εὐεργεσίαν[1] ὑμῖν[2] ὀφειλήσει."—Bekk. Anecd. 160, 17.

(2) Παρὰ Δίωνι "οὔκουν οὐδ' ἄρχοντες πρὶν διανομοθετηθῆναι περὶ[3] αὐτῶν ὠνομάζοντο."—*Ibid.* p. 164, 11.

(3) Δίων "οὐχ ὅπως ἐπείσθησαν αὐτοῦ."—*Ibid.* p. 164, 23.

(4) Δίωνος ιθ' βιβλίῳ "καὶ τούς τε ἀντεπεξελθόντας οἱ ἀνέκοψαν."—*Ibid.* p. 124, 7.

(5) Δίων ιθ' βιβλίῳ "Ταραντῖνοι μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐκείνου προτιμήσαντες."—*Ibid.* p. 165, 21.

(6) Δίων ιθ' βιβλίῳ "ῥᾷον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκατεργάσασθαι."—*Ibid.* p. 166, 11.

(7) Δίων κβ' βιβλίῳ "ὧν τὰ μὲν βίᾳ ᾕρει, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὁμολογίᾳ παρίστατο."—*Ibid.* p. 166, 5.

(8) Δίων †ν' βιβλίῳ "ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ τήν τε χώραν σφῶν παντελῶς ἐκλίπωσιν."—*Ibid.* p. 140, 17.

(9) Δίων †μς' βιβλίῳ "καὶ οἱ ἵπποι τοῖς στρατιώταις ὑπούργησαν."—*Ibid.* p. 117, 32.

110, 1 Ἀδύνατον γάρ ἐστι τἀναντία τινὰ τοῖς[4] ὀρθῶς ἔχουσι πράττοντα καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀπολαῦσαι.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 7r = M. p. 562.

2 Οὐ γὰρ αἱ ἐπικλήσεις καὶ τοὺς τρόπους τῶν ἀνθρώπων μεταβάλλουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἄν τις τὰ

[1] εὐεργεσίαν Dind., εὐεργεσιῶν Ms. [2] ὑμῖν Bk., ὑμῶν Ms.
[3] περὶ supplied by Cary. [4] τοῖς Mai, τοῖς οὐκ Ms.

(1) Dio: "He will owe you kindness."

(2) In Dio: "Hence they were not even styled magistrates until the law[1] had been passed concerning them (?)."

(3) Dio: "Not only did they fail to obey him."

(4) Dio, Book XIX. "And they drove back those who made a sortie against him."

(5) Dio, Book XIX. "The Tarentines, accordingly, paying no heed even to him (?)."

(6) Dio, Book XIX. "Easier to accomplish (?) the rest also."

(7) Dio, Book XXII. "Of which he took some by force, and gained others by capitulation."

(8) Dio, Book L.[2] "On condition that they quit their country entirely."

(9) Dio, Book XLVI.[2] "And the horses were of service to the soldiers."

It is impossible for any one who acts contrary to right principles to derive any benefit from them.

For titles do not change the characters of men, but one makes titles take on new meanings according

[1] The *lex curiata de imperio.*
[2] These numbers are certainly corrupt.

πράγματα μεταχειρίζηται, τοιαύτας καὶ ἐκείνας[1] δοκεῖν εἶναι ποιεῖ· καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν μοναρχοῦντες ἀγαθῶν αἴτιοι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις γίγνονται, διὸ καὶ βασιλεία τὸ τοιοῦτον ὀνομάζεται, πολλοὶ δὲ δημοκρατούμενοι μυρία κακὰ αὐτοὺς[2] ἐργάζονται.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 50v = M. p. 556.

3 Πέφυκεν γὰρ ὡς ἀεὶ πρὸς τὰς γνώμας τῶν ἀρχόντων τυποῦσθαι καὶ τὸ ὑποχείριον.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 51r = M. p. 560.

4 Οὐδὲν γὰρ καὶ στράτευμα καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ὅσα ἀρχῆς τινος δεῖται οὕτως[3] οὔτε ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον οὔτε ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον προάγει ὡς ὅ τε τρόπος καὶ ἡ δίαιτα τοῦ ἐπιστατοῦντος αὐτῶν· πρὸς γὰρ τὰς γνώμας τάς τε πράξεις τῶν ἡγουμένων σφίσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐξομοιοῦνται, καὶ ὁποῖα ἂν ἐκείνους δρῶντας ἴδωσι, τοιαῦτα καὶ αὐτοί, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς, οἱ δὲ καὶ προσποιούμενοι, πράττουσιν.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 51r = M. p. 556.

5 Φιλεῖ πως λυπεῖν μᾶλλόν τινας τῶν μὴ προσδοκηθέντων ἀρχὴν ὅσα ἂν ἐν ἐλπίδι γενόμενα διαπέσῃ· τὰ μὲν γὰρ πόρρω σφῶν νομίζοντες εἶναι ἧττον αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ἀλλοτρίων ἐφίενται, τῶν δὲ ἐγγὺς ἐλθόντες ἄχθονται ὡς καὶ οἰκείων στερόμενοι.—Max. Conf. Flor. f. 160r = M. p. 558.

6 Πολλῷ κρεῖττόν ἐστι κατορθώσαντάς τι ζηλοτυπηθῆναι ἢ πταίσαντας ἐλεηθῆναι.—M. p. 558.

[1] τοιαύτας καὶ ἐκείνας Bk., τοιαῦτα καὶ ἐκεῖνα Mss.
[2] αὐτοὺς Dind., αὐτοῖς and αὑτοῖς Mss.
[3] οὕτως inserted by Bs.

to one's management of affairs. Many monarchs are the source of blessings to their subjects, whence such a state is called a kingdom; whereas many who live under a democracy work innumerable evils to themselves.

The subject class is wont ever to shape itself according to the opinions of its rulers.

For nothing leads on an army, or anything else requiring some control, to better or worse like the character and habits of the person presiding over it. The majority naturally imitate the opinions and deeds of their leaders, and do whatever they see them doing, some from real inclination and others as a mere pretence.

Hopes that come to nothing are somehow wont to grieve some people more than the loss of things never expected at all. For they regard the latter objects as remote and so covet them less, as if they belonged to others; whereas, after coming very near to the former, they are grieved as if deprived of their rightful possessions.

It is much better to win some success and be envied than to fail and be pitied.

INDEX TO VOLUMES I. AND II.

NOTE.—M'. = Manius. M. = Marcus. Dates are all B.C.

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